

A PENGUIN SPECIAL

YOUNG CITIZEN

by

A. E. MORGAN





Covering a wide front

Closely massed bristles, bristles deeply entrenched upon a wide front—obstinate, tenacious bristles. But they don't stand a chance when Jif appears. Jif just overwhelms them Another freedom-loving chin liberated. Cheers!

Pears
Jif
SHAVING STICK

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(S 120)

Owing to war-time production difficulties it is impossible to maintain large stocks of our publications and the titles available change so rapidly that the issuing of a catalogue would be of little value as a guide to intending purchasers. Readers wishing to be informed of books now in print will be sent a list on receipt of a penny stamp or a stamped and addressed envelope.

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PREFATORY NOTE

IN 1938 I was privileged to make a Survey on behalf of King George's Jubilee Trust of the adolescent citizens of the British Isles. To that end I studied the situation in records and by observing the condition of youth in its varied occupations, and I gave particular attention to the many organizations which provide for the leisure time of youth. Numberless persons familiar with various aspects of the subject gave generously of their knowledge. My findings were published by the Oxford University Press as *The Needs of Youth*. If I had not had the opportunity to make that Survey I should not be in a position to write this present book, which restates in shortened form what I expressed then, and includes reference to certain factual developments in the situation which have taken place since war broke out. For more detailed information I would venture to refer any interested reader to my larger work, and I crave permission to make reference to it at certain points in this shorter book.

I have expressed my views on a number of subjects, some of which may be open to controversy. I wish to make it clear that I take full responsibility for those views with no right or desire to commit any one else.

I acknowledge gratefully the concurrence of the Oxford University Press in the publication of this booklet.

NOTE TO SECOND ISSUE

This book was written in 1941 and some additions were made during 1942 while it was in the press. A few minor additions and corrections are now introduced. The figures of the Pre-Service Corps have been brought up to date, but the increases of membership in other juvenile organizations, which appear to be appreciable, have not been shown.

Two important developments have been noticeable. Local Education Authorities have increased their provision and many, as well as aiding voluntary organizations, are themselves undertaking considerable ventures, chiefly in Youth Centres. Secondly the Pre-Service organizations continue to grow.

Much has been learned from Youth Registration and the subsequent interviews. The publication of *Youth Registration in 1942* (Cmd. 6446) is a most important event. This White Paper summarizes the lessons learned and states Government policy in regard to the next steps necessary.

The reference on page 135 to Co-operative organizations is out of date. There is now one Co-operative Youth Movement with 38,000 club members. It is non-political, it receives grants from public funds and it is represented on the Standing Conference of National Juvenile Organisations.

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CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE OF THE QUESTION

IN 1937 the total number of boys and girls in the age-group including the four years 14-18* was in Great Britain approximately 3,250,000. The statisticians predicted that, so far as trends could be foreseen, the fall of the birth rate would produce a reduction in this group, so that in ten years it would have fallen by one-fifth and in twenty years by one-third. Without allowing for the disturbing effects of the war it is necessary to meet a situation in 1957 when Young Britain between 14 and 18 years of age will be numerically reduced by over three-quarters of a million. The seriousness of this prospect is hard to overestimate, and unless it is met by swift measures it may prove catastrophic.

It may sound ironical to say that the chief ground for optimism is the blind way in which youth has been neglected. There is so much slack to take up that if the problem is grasped bravely and wisely it may be possible to compensate for quantitative loss by qualitative improvement.

One of the most potent spurs to action is fear, and that is why war may lead to reforms which in the complacent mood of peace we are unwilling to effect. War makes a peculiar threat to the race of to-morrow, and in our fear we may think more carefully of the youth on whom to-morrow depends. It is not that it creates a youth problem, although it may produce certain unusual features. The youth problem is eternal. It is the problem which education ever attempts to solve.

Education is simply the process devised to provide the environment and nurture which enable the young to develop. The nature and extent of education are an expression of the ideals and beliefs which the adult generation holds in regard to life. What we hold life to be is the basis of our educational practice. How we train the young, what we want youth to become, is a reflection of our conception of the purpose of life. In that broad sense educational faith is religious.

To-day there is more talk about the claims of youth and probably a more general recognition of the necessity of dealing with the question than ever before in this country. The State, Local Authorities and the public at large are thinking and in some

* Throughout, this means between the fourteenth and eighteenth birthdays.

measure acting with greater keenness, but there are many signs that the scope of the problem in its entirety is not appreciated, and it is the purpose of this book to display some of the many facets which it presents.

No understanding of the matter is possible unless it is regarded as an educational problem. If we had an adequate educational system it would scarcely arise; certainly it would be very different. The growing boy and girl is a budding man or woman. That state we call adolescence—the stage of becoming an adult. The essential need of an adult is to be responsible: the adolescent is incompletely responsible, but should be developing that faculty. It is a function of education to facilitate the process. Responsibility involves every human faculty, and it is the duty of the educationist to assist youth in the development of every phase of personality.

Our democratic faith is based on the twin beliefs in the value of personality and the claims of society. Democratic education must therefore provide opportunity for the finest development of all right faculties of which the individual is capable and those which contribute to the attainment of good citizenship. This involves training of the physical, intellectual, emotional, moral, spiritual and social capacities.

It is a process which begins in the cradle, and as the child develops the task is shared by parents, school teachers and the churches. In our present national view it is sufficient to carry on the scholastic part only to the age of fourteen, when presumably the child is regarded as fit to take his place in the big world of work. A few continue at school. Dissatisfied with this view a large variety of enthusiastic persons provide facilities for those boys and girls who are willing to come into the organizations they conduct for the better occupation of the leisure time of the young worker. In so far as these organizations are effective they are fulfilling an educational purpose, by giving growing youth the opportunities which are not otherwise provided for disciplined development.

All these things we shall look at. They will appear after examination as a patchwork with gaps and loose ends. Much is being done, but more remains to be done. If adequate provision for the education of youth is to be made it must be more extensive and more ordered. Had it not been for the outbreak of war the school-leaving age, with serious possibilities of exemption it is true, would have been raised in September 1939 from

fourteen to fifteen. This must be done at the earliest possible moment. That is not enough. Full-time education must be extended to sixteen, and the President of the Board of Education declared on 2nd January, 1941, and subsequently reiterated that he had accepted this principle.

The second requisite is the establishment of Day Continuation Schools, with compulsory part-time attendance to the age of eighteen for those not occupied in full-time courses. Attendance must take place in the employers' time in the case of those at work, and not during leisure hours. The establishment of such a system was made possible by the Education Act of 1918, but except in a small degree the powers were not exercised and in most cases where the system was put into operation it was afterwards discontinued.

The patchy nature of the work of the voluntary organizations results mainly from two causes. In the first place they lack resources. Secondly they depend wholly on the voluntary participation of their members. It is clear that an element of compulsion is necessary if the adolescent is to be properly educated. It will be one of our purposes to show how this can be applied without stultification and without either damaging the voluntary organizations or robbing them of the voluntary quality which they rightly hold dear. Nor need we shrink before the bogey that has alarmed many good folk who fear that compulsion of adolescents will necessarily result in regimentation such as has damned youth in so many other countries.

This book will plead for wider extension of educational provision. Some may retort, as is often said, that we have too much education: that we have tried to cram into unreceptive maws stuff which gave no nourishment: that we were making a discontented class of intellectual snobs who were fit only for special work which did not exist. There is substance in these criticisms. A mere extension of educational practice is not what is wanted: there must be a new kind of education, or a development along certain lines which are not yet recognized fully. Radical changes in educational ideals and practice are necessary if the developments we demand are to be of value.

The subject of this book is the adolescent, and that term cannot be defined by strict age limits. Adolescence, as we have said, is the state of becoming adult; and its period varies according to the individual. It has been the habit to put it roughly between the fourteenth and

eighteenth birthdays, and that is a useful definition. In the stage of adolescence there are observable certain characteristic phenomena, but they may begin and end variably with different boys and girls. And on the whole it is true that girls develop earlier than boys.

In general terms the adult is a social being while the child is essentially an egoist. The child is a rapidly growing young animal, full of energy and unharnessed desires. The adult is capable of more control and balance: judgement and responsibility have taken the place of passionate wants and joys and sorrows. Adult relationships unlike those of the dependent child connote equality: they involve give and take. Biologically adolescence is the stage between infantile dependence and mating. In this period sex develops. It is a time of urgent enthusiasms, elation and depression, affection, waywardness, faithfulness, faithlessness, where idealism begins to glow and spiritual fervour to burn. Personality is molten and according to its treatment in this plastic state it will be moulded into something beautiful or ugly, good or ill, perhaps irrevocably. If it undergoes no moulding pressure, if it has no directive discipline, it may spill out into an amorphous human lump.

For practical purposes of organization it is convenient to regard adolescence as beginning at the age when the great majority of boys and girls leave school and pass out from under the chief form of discipline which we give to youth. And so at present we take fourteen as the lower age limit. The upper limit is harder to determine and although eighteen has commonly been chosen there is a tendency now to put it at twenty. In our discussion we shall not confine ourselves too rigidly, but so far as statistical material is concerned it will be necessary in most cases to take eighteen as the limit, as figures for the 18-20 period are not usually available. Further it should be noted that little up-to-date statistical material is to be had, and figures in most cases refer to conditions prevailing before the outbreak of war.

When the school-leaving age is raised the scope of the care of the adolescent will automatically be changed. We must look forward to the time when all full-time schools recognize their responsibility for the leisure activities of their pupils. These will include a number of adolescents, just as the secondary and public boarding schools do at present. The Senior School and the non-resident Secondary School should provide sufficient oppor-

tunity for the recreation of their pupils out of formal school hours, just as a boarding-school does. A different system will be necessary for the young worker who will attend a part-time Continuation School, during the time he remains a pupil and afterwards until the age of about twenty. It is that question which will concern us largely here.

Education in the past has fallen short in two main respects. It has failed to recognize its responsibility to regard all the facets of human personality. The system has shown gaps and unbalanced emphasis at different times and in different ways. Here one has found neglect of physical education; there the intellectual has been under-emphasized; the spiritual has bulked too small and too large; and in general there has been a tendency to forget the immense importance of training the emotional powers.

The other main respect in which we have gone wrong is in laying undue stress on the personal advantage of education. The whole system and spirit of modern education have over-emphasized the necessity of getting on. Parents and children alike have regarded it as the means of climbing to or maintaining social and economic status. The whole system has depended on and bred the competitive spirit. In a sense there is nothing wrong with that; but it is not enough. If life depends on participation in a common lot, the purpose of education must include training in the talent for co-operative citizenship. It must be inspired by a wider ideal than mere personal advancement. It can be, and should be, based on a belief in the necessity for developing personality; but that belief in its turn must reflect a belief that it is only in social co-operation that personality can flourish fully. Incidentally our educational system has included training in social co-operation, but its shortcomings in this respect are patent. It has certainly done much to develop *esprit de corps*, but that spirit is often strictly limited in scope and creative only of a narrow snobbery. If in our future practice we are to enable our boys and girls to be men and women capable of expressing all that lies latent in them we must so widen our ideals that we develop all that constitutes both personality and citizenship.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION

ALTHOUGH the neglect of adolescent youth has been woeful, attention has been paid to the training of some boys and girls beyond the age of fourteen. For 87 per cent.* school ends soon after the fourteenth birthday, but important parts of our educational system carry on the process in one way or another.

Full-time Courses

The bulk of the 13 per cent. who do not leave school at fourteen attend Secondary Schools. A quite small number are taking full-time courses of instruction in some other kind of institution, as for example Commercial, Technical and Art Schools, Approved Schools, and Training Schools of the armed forces of the Crown.

It must not be thought that this means that 13 per cent. of all boys and girls take full-time courses until they are eighteen. Of all boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen 13 per cent. are at a given moment taking full-time courses; but of that number the large majority do not continue to do so after the age of sixteen. Of those who are between sixteen and eighteen only 4 per cent. are taking full-time courses.

The main burden of criticism of our secondary education is that it follows the bookish tradition too slavishly. It is true that an important task falling to the Secondary Schools is preparation of boys for a university course; but for many years there has been a growing consciousness that the curricula of Secondary Schools needed widening. With the increase of the number following secondary courses it became evident that scope must be given to boys and girls who would certainly never go to a university and who might indeed not pursue a black-coated career. Not only has the curriculum been broadened: it has been modified to give scope to those whose bent lay less towards book-learning but who might have talent in practical and manual pursuits. Even now in the midst of war we find that a committee

* The figures in this chapter are for England and Wales only. They are based on the attendances for the school year 1936-7 and the estimated population for 1937. The ratio of educational provision is rather higher for Scotland and lower for Northern Ireland.

has been appointed to study the problem of lightening the tyranny of examinations which despite criticism and dislike from so many directions still hold the Secondary School in thrall.

Nevertheless tribute is due to our Secondary School system. With commendable variety of type and practice it gives to 265,000* boys and girls opportunities of a wider culture which until a generation ago were open only to a privileged few.

The next most important kind of full-time course for boys and girls over fourteen is to be found in the Technical, Commercial and Art Schools. These courses are mainly vocational in purpose, but stress is laid on the necessity of so balancing the curricula that liberal and cultural elements are introduced.

The same principle is true of Approved Schools and Service establishments where subjects of general educational value are interspersed in a curriculum which is primarily vocational.

Technical, Commercial and Art Schools fall into two groups. There are the Junior Technical, Junior Commercial and Junior Art Schools which are in effect Senior Schools with a vocational bias. These include about 23,000 pupils, of whom the majority are boys. Pupils normally stay at these schools until about the age of sixteen or slightly over. The curriculum has a practical and vocational flavour, but it is kept as wide as possible. If care were not taken there would be a danger in training on such narrow lines that a boy or girl would be committed too early to a particular occupation. The Junior Technical School is not designed to prepare a boy for a specific trade, but if he shows a leaning to a practical vocation he is taught the fundamental subjects which are useful to a number of crafts. Similarly the Junior Commercial Schools give training useful for a business career in any one of a number of different kinds of commercial firm.

More advanced work in these fields is carried on in Colleges for Further Education, to give them their generic description. But the number of boys and girls attending the full-time day courses which they provide is inconsiderable: the total for the whole fourteen- to eighteen-year-old group amounts only to 6,700.

In order to get a clear picture of the position as a whole it is necessary to remember that a considerable part of the adolescents attending school are those who for one reason or another have remained voluntarily in their Elementary School beyond the

* In this chapter figures are for the 14-18 group unless stated otherwise.

TABLE I

STUDENTS TAKING FULL-TIME COURSES OF EDUCATION—ENGLAND AND WALES 1936-37*

	BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS AND GIRLS		TOTAL <i>Boys and Girls over 14 and under 18</i>
	Over 14 and under 16	Over 16 and under 18	Over 14 and under 16	Over 16 and under 18	Over 14 and under 16	Over 16 and under 18	
SECONDARY :							
(a) Grant-aided	82,423	36,127	70,300	30,559	152,723	66,686	219,409
(b) Not grant-aided but efficient	13,188	5,780	11,248	4,889	24,436	10,669	35,105
(c) Uninspected†	3,000	2,000	3,000	2,000	6,000	4,000	10,000
Total	98,611	43,907	84,548	37,448	183,159	81,355	264,514
JUNIOR TECHNICAL	12,980	2,060	5,229	1,021	18,209	3,081	21,290
JUNIOR ART	853	63	666	57	1,519	120	1,639
NAUTICAL	710	101	—	—	710	101	811
COLLEGES for FURTHER EDUCATION							
(a) Technical Day Courses	856	286	1,025	762	1,881	1,048	2,929
(b) Senior Courses	389	1,785	288	1,329	677	3,114	3,791
SENIOR ART COURSES	657	698	622	1,153	1,279	1,851	3,130
ELEMENTARY	26,224	781	28,116	1,008	54,340	1,789	56,129
MISCELLANEOUS :							
(a) Armed Forces	3,576	12,473	—	—	3,576	12,473	16,049
(b) Approved Schools	2,235	2,122	504	459	2,739	2,581	5,320
(c) Borstal Institutions	—	282	—	38	—	320	320
(d) Orphanages, Homes, etc.†	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	5,000	5,000	10,000
GRAND TOTAL	149,591	67,058	123,498	45,775	273,089	112,833	385,922

* Based on figures taken from *Education in 1937*, Board of Education, 1938.

† Estimated.

prescribed leaving age. It is not so true to claim that they are continuing their education as to say that they have not yet left school. Actually there were some 171,000 over fourteen in Elementary Schools, but the figure given in Table I* shows only 56,129. This is an estimate made to allow for the fact that the bulk of those under fifteen remain at school for a short time merely owing to the incidence of their birthdays in relation to the end of term.

The above figures are based on the latest available statistical material and give the situation existing before the war. What is the exact position now is impossible to state accurately, but it is probable almost to certainty that the situation has deteriorated. Evacuation has played havoc with secondary education and there are other influences which must have tended to diminish the numbers in Secondary Schools and to reduce the quality of the education given. The claims of the armed forces do not fall directly on the schoolboy, but the depletion of teaching staffs, loss of buildings and the general conditions of war have all been disturbing factors. The effect of the birth rate on population has caused a diminution in the total numbers in the fourteen to eighteen age group since its peak in 1937. The result of this would be to make the figures appear better if the number of those receiving secondary education were stated as a percentage, even though the actual number had remained stationary. However, seeing that figures are not available this caveat is not at present necessary. Evacuation has brought one signal advantage. To live in the country has been a real gain for many town-bred boys and girls.

Part-time Courses

Again we are able to speak only of conditions prevailing before the war, and it is certain that part-time education has suffered much more dislocation than the full-time system.

The total number of boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen who were attending voluntarily some part-time course of education was 493,000.† Of these Evening Institutes accounted for 366,000. The Evening Institute is the lineal descendant of the old night school, where the more ambitious child attended after the working day to carry on a truncated education. The curriculum was rudimentary and went little beyond the three R's;

* Reprinted from *Needs of Youth*, p. 12.

† See Table II reprinted from *Needs of Youth*, p. 22.

TABLE II
STUDENTS TAKING PART-TIME COURSES—ENGLAND AND WALES—1936-37*

	BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS AND GIRLS		TOTAL
	Over 14 and under 16	Over 16 and under 18	Over 14 and under 16	Over 16 and under 18	Over 14 and under 16	Over 16 and under 18	
EVENING INSTITUTES	132,181	79,804	96,246	57,706	228,427	137,510	365,937
TECHNICAL COLLEGES :							
(a) Day	2,691	7,133	692	847	3,383	7,980	11,363
(b) Evening	13,566	44,076	5,269	12,110	18,835	56,186	75,021
SENIOR ART	6,661	6,752	4,127	2,602	10,788	9,354	20,142
DAY CONTINUATION :							
(a) Schools	6,683	1,559	8,447	2,522	15,130	4,081	19,211
(b) Extra in Colleges for Further Education	790	34	516	—	1,306	34	1,340
TOTAL	162,572	139,358	115,297	75,787	277,869	215,145	493,014

* Based on figures taken from *Education in 1937*, Board of Education, 1938

but simple as this service was thousands of useful citizens have graduated from these humble academies.

In the last generation the Evening Institute has been extended and developed. An attempt has been made to regularize courses and to insist that students shall take a group of subjects so that they follow a balanced curriculum. This was based on sound theory and was undoubtedly beneficial for those who attended them. Unfortunately it had to be operated within the voluntary system and the result was that it scared off numbers who might be willing to attend the courses of their own choice but would not brook compulsion to take subjects against their predilections.

Some Local Education Authorities have maintained a rigid policy of insistence on the group course; others have taken the line that the wind must be tempered. If a keen boy has the sense to appreciate the full course prescribed, so much the better; but if there are others with less vision for whom the practical alternatives are to admit him to one or two disjointed courses, or on the other hand to let him idle, they hold that it is wiser to admit him.

Following this policy a number of authorities have developed the recreational type of institute. It has an educational flavour and insists on one or two formal courses, but they may be very slightly academic. Practical subjects, physical training and lighter pastimes are offered. They operate under different names in different places. London has developed a large system of Junior Men's and Junior Women's Institutes, as they are entitled rather pompously. Hull has named them somewhat speciously boys' and girls' clubs. Norwich calls them Junior Recreational Institutes. In intention and practice they are all much alike. In all cases they are conducted in school buildings and to that extent they are handicapped. A school building is designed for certain purposes, but very rarely is it suitable for adolescents who attend for evening courses and recreation. So long as we make education optional for boys and girls after fourteen we must make such provision as is available really attractive or give up bemoaning the fact that so few elect to spend two or three evenings a week in what seem to be dull places.

A certain number of authorities are far-sighted enough to send teachers into clubs. Some provide them readily, and give the service free; others charge a fee. Others again have refused to co-operate. An interesting practice has been developed in Manchester and Salford where the Education Committees send teachers into clubs, and the classes which they take count as part

of a group course of evening instruction. It is a plan well worth developing until such time as the whole of adolescent education is reorganized and put on a satisfactory basis with the compulsory Day Continuation School as the backbone of the system.

There has been marked progress in part-time education between the two wars, but even so the proportion of adolescents taking advantage of the facilities offered is small. Before this, war there were, as we have seen, 493,000 students in these courses, that is 17 per cent. of the whole age-group; and of these the large majority, 366,000 in round figures, attended Evening Institutes. The next largest group consisted of those attending Technical Colleges, and no doubt the bulk of these were seeking to advance their vocational knowledge. The total figure was 86,000, of whom the greater part, actually 75,000, attended in the evening. Senior Art Courses recruited 20,000, and there were over 19,000 attending Day Continuation Schools. Colleges for Further Education contained 1,300.

General

This is a short sketch, in quantitative terms, of our educational provision for adolescence. What it amounts to is that at any one time about 30 per cent. of adolescents are attending some school or college, but the amount of attendance varies from full-time to one class a week, and the period of attendance may be for only a short time. Moreover the figures are certainly optimistic in that some heads are counted more than once. Still it is serious to think that out of every ten boys and girls in their adolescent years seven have no formal education of any kind.

Great efforts have been made to encourage boys and girls to take voluntary part-time courses, and in relation to that effort the result is disappointing. It is however not surprising. The change from school ways to work is immense in its unsettling effects. For some nine years the child has followed regular school hours amounting to about twenty-seven a week; he has had long holidays and probably the distance from home to school was short. Suddenly the boy or girl is plunged into work of an exacting kind. The hours may be nearly twice as long and perhaps irregular, there is less respite for recreation, and daily travel may be considerable. Is it surprising that by the time the young worker has come home, tidied up and had his tea he feels little inclined for the discipline and concentration involved in going to an evening class? It must be a strong motive to over-

come the natural inclination to play. Even if in the early days he makes a firm resolution, he may turn aside as the months go by. He may hold out until summer brings long evenings and the school term is over. It must be a resolution stronger still which impels him to embark on a second year course.

Before regretting this sad declension too much we ought to face the question whether it is right that a boy or girl already fully worked, overworked in too many cases, should be encouraged to spend in school the precious hours of recreation which are needed for refreshment. There is a growing realization that extended education should be given in the daytime, during normal working hours, and on that theory is based the plea for the Day Continuation School. One of the main theses of this study is the urgent need of development of further education along these lines.

Much might be said of the quality of the educational services available for the adolescent, whether part- or full-time, and a fair account would give it some criticism and much praise. But such a picture is beyond the scope of this book. We are concerned at this point only in stating in bald terms how much, or how little, is being done for the formal education of the mass of boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Our next task is to study the work and characteristics and needs of these three million and more young citizens, then to examine what is being done by all the organizations concerned with youth, and finally to return to the question of formal education and suggest how it should be extended to meet the need.

CHAPTER III

AT WORK

THE usual happening is for the boy and girl as soon as they leave school after their fourteenth birthday to seek work. This is an immense event for a lad. With a sweep he goes out of the narrow confines of tended life in the school to the wide spaces of free citizenship. Or so it seems. A wise mother will see that the wage is brought home and a limited ration of pocket money is given back for the purchase of those amenities which spell manhood, womanhood. The work is likely to be much harder than at school, but it is worth paying any price for what seems

to be freedom. To be able to buy cigarettes and to spit. To cheek the foreman (at least once), to dream of the backchat you'll give the boss, to go to the pictures with your own money, to swagger in the monkey-parade with your own girl. It's some life. You have watched it enviously through the school bars and now you are free to expand in it like a butterfly in the sunshine. But is it quite the wisest way of making the most of all the lad may become? Some of his little compeers are at the same moment leaving their Preparatory School to go to the Public School where under discipline and tuition they will learn for another four or five years the things we think good for the growing man. Or his own brother may have passed at that age into the Secondary School where he will be nurtured for years.

It is the natural desire of any normal youngster to look forward with keen hope to the next stage in life. Leaving school means the opening of a door into the big world of adult activities. For the great majority this comes at too early an age; but come when it will it is an event of vast moment to start on the first job. Most lads approach it with keenness, even if for the tenderer boy ardour is tempered by anxiety or for the sluggard by laziness. To progress in the job and to find expression for capacity is to develop as the boy should towards competent personality. There will be rough going as well as smooth. Manhood is not achieved without tumbles and bruises. The boy will make his mistakes, he will be reprov'd and guided. He will be petulant or lazy, he will fall into some of the snares that beset the human path; but he will learn, and gradually the plastic stuff of boyhood will be moulded into some shape. Some shape it will assuredly take. But what shape?

In some cases the job may be a valuable educational process. The old system of apprenticeship was essentially educational in principle. The lad was bound to a master-craftsman who undertook to discipline him and teach him his trade. Once upon a time he took him into his family. Despite shocking abuses, involving cruelty and the reduction of boys into little better than unpaid house-servants in extreme cases, the principle was sound as far as it went. When he was through his years of training the young man was reasonably likely to find a job.

Gradually the changes in industrial processes which have resulted from increasing mechanization have altered the whole situation. Although there is still room for the skilled tradesman he is becoming relatively less and less important. One fitter

can maintain and set machines for six, eight or ten workers, boys or girls, who can learn the trick in a few days or even hours. The fight against dilution is comprehensible, but it is a fight against the invincible trend of mechanization. The apprenticeship system is moribund. More and more the tendency will be for industry to be served by the workers who learn the immediate and limited processes on which they are engaged by being set to the task.

Really skilled workers will become relatively fewer and their care need present no serious difficulty, but for the curse of unemployment. The main problem is that of the multitudinous unskilled and semi-skilled workers, whose work is mechanical and repetitive, making no great demands and giving none of the satisfaction which the craftsman finds in a job thoroughly and intelligently done. Here is one of the greatest problems of our time, and it permeates the whole social being. We are mainly a swarm of people of whom only a very small proportion find any satisfaction or really vital outlet in the process of work. The only interest in work is to obtain the pecuniary wherewithal to realize life outside the confines of the mill, the shop or the office. This may not be a serious evil if we recognize and meet it. The danger lies in the fact that we have so far neglected to make provision for a balanced life. Of that more later. For the moment let us confine our attention to the conditions of work. The other side of the problem will be discussed when we come to consider leisure.

The most serious question for the boy and girl leaving school is how to find the right job. That should mean one in which the latent capacities will find scope to develop. It is lamentable to see the number of boys who flit from one job to another in the course of a few years. Utterly uninterested and never imagining the possibility that work can be a means of human fulfilment they drift on the tide of dead-end or semi-casual labour. Such evidence as exists indicates clearly enough that dead-end employment in adolescence is the fertile field from which unemployment springs in early manhood. Not the least important factor is that such work is of its nature un compelling, and that it fails to give the discipline from which purposive application comes. It produces an irresponsibility, which degenerates into carelessness and callousness.

The problem must be tackled from three sides. First the blind alley must be opened up even if the dead-end job is not abolished,

as it can be in large measure without serious difficulty. Secondly the boy must be so trained that he will be able to resist the demoralizing conditions incidental to certain types of unskilled work. Thirdly more care must be taken to discover the kind of work for which boys and girls are best fitted, and then to watch and help them when they are in it.

What is a dead-end job? It is one for which a boy will be unfitted merely because he becomes older, and which at the same time holds out no hope of promotion and gives no training which will fit him to get another. For girls the consequences are less serious. In the first place there is a constant stream of girls passing out of employment into marriage. Secondly they are not faced with the same need for an increase of wage to enable them to marry and support a home. In the case of boys it is of vital importance.

A notorious example of the dead-end job at its worst is the errand boy's. The pay is bad (or was before the war).^{*} According to the supply of juvenile labour, which was most variable, wages ranged from 5s. to 15s. a week or occasionally higher. Even before the war there was labour scarcity in London and certain munition-making centres; while in the Special Areas, such as South Wales and Tyneside, there was a large superfluity.[†] That was not the worst aspect of the matter. Excessively long hours, irregularity of duties, absence of constructive interest and lack of discipline militate against the regularity and rest which are necessary for the growing lad. Food has to be snatched hastily and at irregular intervals; weather conditions may be bad. Even worse still is the pointlessness of the job, the absence of any constraining force which strengthens purpose. If you have a row with the master it is easy enough to go round the corner and get another job. There were lads who would change positions a dozen times in a year or two. The consequence is to intensify the restlessness natural in adolescence, to encourage irresponsibility at the very time when purpose should be taking shape.

In greater or lesser degree the same conditions prevail for the van-boy, the lift-boy, the hotel page, the kitchen hand, the

^{*} It may be interpolated here that the disturbance by war of labour supply and demand has altered the whole picture. I am concerned to describe the more normal conditions of peace. Before the war these conditions were complicated by the problem of large-scale unemployment, and it is impossible to foresee what they will be after peace returns. The general principles and conclusions are however unaffected.

[†] In January 1939 there were in Great Britain 129,323 unemployed juveniles, an increase of 12,418 over January 1938. As local examples, in Liverpool the figure in January 1939 was 4,961, i.e. 8.8 per cent. of all insured juveniles; and in Belfast 3,100, i.e. 11.5 per cent.

lather-boy and the host of lads engaged in industry and commerce on odd jobs, in cinemas, cheap restaurants, dog tracks, fun fairs.

We contend in general for a delay in plunging children into employment, but the dead-end job is especially dangerous. Not every kind of juvenile employment falls under that ban; and the same kind of job under proper management may be cleared of its worst features.

The cancerous core of the problem of juvenile employment is economic exploitation. In the main boys are employed because they are cheap. In a few years they reach an age when they demand more wage and the choice is to hold on at a boy's wage or to plunge again into the labour market with all its risks of unemployment. At eighteen the risk is greater because four precious years, when training should have been proceeding, have passed unused, and the young man is now in the queue with greater demands and no more skill. At best he is somewhat stronger in muscle.

The Ministry of Labour by its machinery of placing does its best. To begin with it makes an effort to place boys in jobs which hold out prospects of permanence; but often its good intentions are overborne by the conditions of the local labour market.* Juvenile employment is sometimes administered directly by the Ministry with the advice of a Juvenile Advisory Committee. This Committee is supposed to, and usually does, contain men and women genuinely interested in juvenile welfare; and in many places it does excellent work in placing and to a less degree in after-care. Sometimes the work is taken over by the Local Education Authority who do the same work through a Juvenile Employment Committee which is similar to the Juvenile Advisory Committee in nature and functions. There is something to be said for each method, and there are good and bad examples of each kind. Ideally it is probably better that the work should come into the educational system, and this will seem more desirable when the adolescent remains in the Continuation School to the age of eighteen. Against that it is urged that the Ministry of Labour is more closely in touch with industry and commerce, and that it is less likely to be subject to local pull and parochialism. In fact the increasing hold which the Ministry of Labour has acquired over placing, training and welfare will make it difficult to unseat it, even if it should be desirable, after the war.

Juvenile employment officers have striven to ameliorate the

* See note 2 on p. 22 *supra*.

situation by wise placing and by piecing together jobs so that the boy moves forward; but the evil can be abated best by employers themselves. There are those who have seen the need and have succeeded to some extent in certain firms and wholly in others.

If a lad is employed as a van boy with the prospect of unemployment at eighteen it is wholly bad; but if he may expect after satisfactory service to be taught to drive and eventually to be put on the staff of drivers it is a very different story. So for the page in a club who becomes an adult servant, a messenger boy who goes into the shop as a counter-server. Unfortunately this is a relatively rare occurrence for the simple mathematical reason that many firms employ too much juvenile labour and there are not enough adult vacancies to absorb the lads as they emerge from adolescence. Other firms however claim, probably with justice, that they calculate the proportion so as to be able to promote their boys. Unfortunately they are few.

Another way in which the evil can be mitigated is by the employers taking much more trouble in selection than is usual. Many firms will engage a lad on the most scrappy evidence of suitability, with the knowledge that if after a few weeks he is unsuitable he can be replaced. Some employers out of a misplaced sense of kindness want to give a boy a chance. They forget that the first sacking of a lad may be the first push down the slippery slope of irresponsible job-snatching which ends in the hopeless abyss of unemployed casuals. Often the engagement of boys and girls is left to ignorant and unimaginative foremen, whom it may even be necessary to mollify with a consideration. A few employers on the other hand take the matter so seriously that recruitment is in the hands of a highly placed official or even a director himself. They do it for two reasons, both quite laudable: not only because it is morally right, but because it pays them. Nothing is more wasteful than a quick turnover of unsatisfactory workers. The wise employer wants picked boys and girls, whom he can train, whom he can count on keeping and whose loyalty and co-operation he can harness through the years. What is good for them is good for him.

A remedy for this evil must be found if youth is not to be wasted at a rate we cannot afford. In certain occupations it may mean that adults must be used. The errand boy serving the small shopkeeper should give place to a co-operative system of delivery and there must be a reduction of the quite ridiculous

facilities which unreasonable customers expect and competition has driven retailers to supply. If the employment of men is necessary at higher wages in some jobs now performed by cheap boy labour we shall have to pay more for the service. Nobody has been ruined by the replacement of newspaper boys in London by middle-aged men, or by the legislation which stopped the use of boys as lift operators during the night hours. Reduction of the supply of juvenile labour by a decline in population and by retention in school will raise wages so that the extra cost involved in employing adult labour will be a narrower margin. If these forces are not sufficient to remedy the evil, legislative compulsion will be necessary.

When the Juvenile Employment Officer comes into the picture there is a better chance of the boy being kept out of unsuitable employment. Before the war only 30 per cent. of placings passed through his hands; but the war-time controls, now put into the hands of the Minister of Labour, have made it practicable to bring more employment of juveniles under skilled control. But even the best juvenile placing officer must work within the limits set by the conditions and kinds of work available.

The Undertakings (Restriction on Engagement) Order made by the Minister of Labour and National Service in 1940 has limited to a certain degree the free engagement of labour. It imposes in certain classes of work the obligation of engaging through the official machinery of the Employment Exchange. The Essential Work Orders, of which a series have been made by the Minister of Labour under Defence Regulations, have the effect of preventing workers from leaving their jobs and employers from dismissing them without the permission of the National Service Officer, who is an official of the Ministry. Although there are ways in which the Orders can be evaded, they put a considerable check on both sides and make for stability of employment. Furthermore the Minister has wide powers to direct persons to work in the national interest where and how he sees fit.

Nevertheless there is a considerable amount of job-hunting still by individuals. An employer wanting the services of a boy or girl in many kinds of employment may apply in vain to the Employment Exchange and then have recourse to advertising. The result will be in some cases a fairly plentiful number of replies, but every day growing stringency in the labour market

makes this less true. It is to be hoped that when the abnormal conditions of war are over there will be a much larger proportion of placings effected through the Juvenile Employment Officer than formerly.

The work of placing is important, but that is only the start of the child's working career. No less important, indeed of more abiding concern, is to maintain guidance over the young worker. Juvenile Advisory and Employment Committees before the war were not unmindful of the importance of industrial after-care, and in some localities this was undertaken with thoughtful attention. But it is difficult work. A Committee may have periodical open nights when the young worker or parents can come for advice or help. It must in honesty be admitted that placing has rarely been undertaken properly and after-care has been more rudimentary still. Where a firm realizes the wisdom and duty of carrying out these functions as a plain part of good management they may be well done; but with an outside committee it is often unsatisfactory.

Juvenile Advisory Committees ceased to operate when war broke out. Why this happened is not apparent, but it was certainly unfortunate. It is true that there seemed to be a likelihood that juvenile unemployment would be less prevalent, but in fact there was not a rapid decline and the wide need for vocational guidance and after-care remains in war time. In the spring of 1940 the policy was modified and discretion was given to restart Juvenile Advisory Committees where it seemed to be desirable; and by the early part of 1941 about a quarter of them were again operating. Juvenile Employment Committees under Education Authorities had come into action again by the early part of 1940, and now nearly all are operating.

A large field lies open in vocational guidance. There has been some experiment in studying vocational aptitudes by the application of psychological and other tests. We foresee the time when every Juvenile Employment Officer will have at his disposal full details based on these methods to guide him. It will involve the creation of much new machinery, and here again the Day Continuation School will be of value in correcting misplacement and facilitating better replacement. More important still will be the raising of the school age. At present an experienced schoolmaster can give most valuable help in guidance for the first job; and when he comes to deal with school-leavers of fifteen and sixteen he will have much fuller evidence on which

to base a judgement than he has now with a child of fourteen.

We must not be carried away by the enthusiasm of the specialists who think that psychological tests are the perfect means of guidance. They can make a most valuable contribution, but they will always be imperfect; and at the same time the information acquired by a shrewd and observant teacher may have as much or even greater value. The whole process will be easier when placing and after-care are linked up with compulsory attendance at a Day Continuation School. They will fall into their natural setting as parts of the general training and well-being of the adolescent.

We have referred to the aggravation of the problem of juvenile labour by the mechanization of industrial processes and the replacement of skill by ability to perform repetitive processes easily learned. This phenomenon is fraught with immense dangers for youth which have been studied and stated cogently by Mr. John Gollan.* Unless stringent rules are imposed on industry it is difficult to see how employers will be restrained from exploiting cheap juvenile labour. The evil will be reduced by increasing shortage of such labour which will result from the decline in numbers available owing to the fall in the birth-rate and also from the longer retention of adolescents in school. Juvenile Employment Officers will work to the same end and it is to be hoped that there will be a growing sense of responsibility among employers. Nevertheless it is not likely that the matter will be remedied quickly enough without restrictive regulation.

A number of engineering firms, especially in such places as Birmingham and Coventry, were concerned before the war with maintaining a sufficient quantity of skilled men. The system was a kind of apprenticeship, or learnership. It included study over a period of years in a Technical College, and in certain cases the employer gave time off for attendance at classes. These schemes are on the whole excellent, but they touch a small proportion. As an example take the case of Coventry, where the scheme is good. There were before the war about 8,500 boys in the city between fourteen and eighteen. Engineering is its main industry, and it employed nearly 6,000 boys. Over a period of five years up to 1937 the average number of apprentices gaining certificates under the training scheme was 63 annually.

Even in the semi-skilled and unskilled trades it has been found

* J. Gollan, *Youth in British Industry*, 1937

possible to introduce systems for stabilizing employment. The dual principles of careful selection and training dominate them. We take two notable examples, among a number of others that might be cited. Before the war the Gas Light and Coke Company, which operates in the metropolitan and contiguous areas, employed 8,000 men on the installation and maintenance of gas-burning apparatus. In the first place careful attention was given to selection of boys and the number recruited was correlated with future needs. There was also an elaborate training system, conducted partly in the firm's own Centre and partly in co-operation with London Technical Institutes. In twenty-nine years they had turned out 1,500 qualified workmen, and before the war they had 600 lads in training.

An example of a firm in which processes are mainly repetitive and unskilled is Cadbury Brothers at Bournville. They have a highly organized system of selection, and on recruitment the boy or girl is put into the Initiation School and given an opportunity to see the work of the firm as a whole, to become accustomed to the new environment and to be instructed in the social amenities of the establishment, which include canteens, clubs, a swimming bath, gymnasium and playing fields. Steps are taken to ascertain by vocational and other tests the kind of work the new recruit is best suited for and then to give the necessary training. If the choice of work proves unsatisfactory, a change is made, and it is stated that hardly ever is it necessary to dismiss a girl or boy for inaptitude. As a background to all this is compulsory attendance in the firm's time at a Day Continuation School nearby, and furthermore a guaranteed week even during the slack periods which are inevitable in so seasonal a trade. Lastly there is a careful correlation of the numbers of juvenile to adult workers. The net result is that virtually no juveniles are dismissed by this firm. And the firm finds that the system pays.

Let it not be thought that other firms doing the same kind of thing could not be cited; or on the other hand that it is common. Unfortunately only a small minority of juvenile workers fall into such an auspicious environment. One appreciates the difficulties of the small employer; but what is less comprehensible is the neglect to be found in large and rich firms which too often have been as negligent in their methods of recruitment as they were in providing training and general amenities.

It has to be recognized that specialist training is necessary to a proportionately lesser degree than was formerly the case, and at the same time that organized training on a wider basis is necessary. Take coal-mining for example. A reasonable case has recently been made in Parliament* for a kind of apprenticeship framed on broad lines, to replace the older system of learnership in which father taught son, so that the lad will acquire an intelligent insight into different sides of the industry and gain as wide a range of skill as possible. The dislike of going into the industry is understandable. Coal-mining involves conditions of great hardship, which with certain types of lad may inspire fear, it brings in relatively poor pay, and it has an alarming history of unemployment. More serious still for boys is the fact that there is an increasing tendency to mechanize mining, with the result that fewer adults are needed and the proportion of juvenile labour increases. This makes promotion to adult positions more difficult and lads are apt to be trapped in a blind alley. In this industry the case is especially bad as the Secretary for Mines pointed out on the same occasion,† seeing that the lad lives probably in a pit village where alternative employment is scantier than in a large centre of population. His situation is more bitterly ironical when the employers, as has been alleged, in dismissing those who have become entitled to an adult's wage tell them that they can send along any young brothers of fourteen for a job. With increasing mechanization coal-mining is becoming more and more an unskilled industry in which "the mine-worker may shortly be a jack-of-all trades and master of none".‡ The suggested scheme for a general apprenticeship for the industry would not eradicate this evil, but it would go some way to maintaining the quality of skill and thus act as a check on wanton dismissal in early manhood.

The more highly skilled an occupation is the more chance there is of continuity of employment in normal conditions. It is true that economic depression may throw the most highly skilled craftsman out of work, but he cannot be sacked to make way for cheaper unskilled labour. Take for example the printer. By an admirable system of co-operation between employers and workers entry into the trade is guarded by a carefully planned system of training which educates the worker to carry on the trade and at the same time it prevents exploitation of

* Hansard, Thursday, 10th July, 1941, 415 ff., by Mr. D. Adams, M.P.

† *Ibid.*, 421.

‡ *Ibid.*, 418.

apprentice labour. Unfortunately some printing has become mechanized to such an extent that there are a considerable number of firms who stand outside the reputable group and utilize cheap unskilled labour.

To take an example of an opposite kind, the jute industry, centred mainly in Dundee, needs little skill in its workers, or at any rate only such skill as can be picked up in a comparatively short time. The result is a marked tendency to dismiss the boy when he reaches the age of eighteen and is due for adult rates of pay.

Obviously the easier it is to replace a worker the less secure is his tenure, and for that reason it is important to organize into a system of training all the elements of skill that the occupation demands. But even this will not withstand the general tide of mechanization which is swamping industry, and reducing rapidly such remnants of skilled work as remain. Skill will never be abolished altogether, but it will continue to become proportionately less in quantity. At the same time it tends to become higher in quality. For example there are engineering firms which, at any rate before the war, admitted to apprenticeship only boys with secondary schooling; and most apprenticeships begin only at fifteen or sixteen years of age. The movement is towards a state where, in engineering at least, a few very highly skilled craftsmen will set and maintain the fool-proof machines which can be tended by many quickly trained minders.

It is a fear of unemployment arising from these causes which has led craft trade unions to fight against dilution and for a maintenance of the system of extended learnership. But to a large extent they are kicking against the pricks. Time and industrial evolution are against them and the social necessity of maintaining the economic standards of the workers must be met by other means. The last war showed that there was a considerable element of unreality in the technical arguments against dilution: this war is re-emphasizing the fact that much that has been regarded as skilled work demanding years of training can be learned in a relatively short time. The same thing was brought out by the Government Training Centres which during the great depression of the early 'thirties turned unemployed men in a relatively short time into useful workers in other skilled trades. Whatever may be said by prejudiced witnesses it cannot be denied by impartial judges that this

scheme did succeed in turning out workers with a considerable degree of competence.

What is the relevance of these facts to the conditions of the young worker? They are relevant in that they emphasize the fact that in increasing measure the juvenile worker will be launched into an industrial world where the stabilizing element of skill is becoming steadily reduced by the march of circumstance. The first thing is to organize this element of skill as thoroughly as possible so that the boy is trained as far as his occupation is amenable to a process of vocational education.

The next thing is to develop as widely as possible the system of grading boys' wages so that they get a regular increase year by year, with the result that the increase to which they become entitled on reaching the age of eighteen is not so great as to tempt the employer to economize by dismissing the lad. An extreme example was to be found before the war in the scale laid down by the Jute Trade Board which specified an increase in wage at eighteen from 20s. 11d. to 31s. 8d. In the South Wales coalfield by the 1937 agreement boys earned a gradually rising wage which jumped only 7.8d. a shift, making an increase on a five-shift week of 3s. 3d., at the age of eighteen. This at any rate reduced the inducement to dismiss young men, although it has not abolished the practice.

Fundamentally there is no difference between the problems of juvenile and of adult unemployment. It is an evil springing inevitably from industrial instability. But something may be done to abate the evil if in addition to the measures we have suggested there were a more serious attempt made by industries to plan ahead and to regulate the inflow of entrants in relation to the needs so far as they could be foreseen, to think out the best methods of training and to arrange satisfactory rates of pay. In certain types of industry these are not insoluble problems and there is no doubt that if a genuine effort were made by a large colliery company or a shipbuilding firm the intake of boys could be improved. It should be the task of a body similar to that governing the training of printers, representative of employers and workers, and it should enlist the co-operation of educationists and the Ministry of Labour. Even if unforeseen circumstances should arise and upset calculations it would nevertheless be well worth while making the attempt.

CHAPTER IV

UNEMPLOYMENT

THE grossest feature of industrial instability is unemployment which has been the running sore of society for generations. It is a terrible thing when the young are forced into the ranks of the unemployed before they have left their teens. One of the salient necessities of adolescent youth is to learn the habits of poise and stability, to acquire purpose and power of direction. These are the fundamentals of good citizenship. The value of training at this stage depends largely on the degree to which it effects these ends. This is a primary purpose in a school, in a university, in a sound apprenticeship of any kind. In as far as they succeed they are giving the discipline from which alone stable manhood emerges.

It is essential above all that boys and girls should not be allowed to fall into idleness which is the condition most apt to produce carelessness and irresponsibility, or anxiety and disappointment. If after a few weeks in a job unsuited to his capacity, or in conditions which do not include the care and guidance which every boy needs, he is driven by fear or stupidity, or by quite good reasons, to give up the job, or if his master for bad reasons or for good dismisses him, what is the effect? He has received a shock which in a few cases may be valuable medicine, but in most will leave a permanent scar. Probably he can get another job without difficulty, but if it lacks purpose or promise or for some reason it fails to hold him, or he to hold it, he may find himself once again looking for work.

The figures for juvenile unemployment before the war make serious reading. For several years they hovered about the 100,000 mark for boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen. They were high in 1935 and then they receded, to rise again in 1938 to over 100,000. The proportion of boys to girls fluctuated, but on an average they were fairly evenly divided, with the disadvantage of slightly higher figures for boys until 1937. In that year and in 1938 there was higher unemployment among girls.

Before arriving at conclusions on these figures* it is important to study the length of the period of unemployment. It is then found that the overwhelming majority were unemployed

* See also Table in *Needs of Youth*, p. 73.

TABLE III

UNEMPLOYED JUVENILES ON THE REGISTER OF EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES AND JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT BUREAU IN GREAT BRITAIN ON ONE DATE IN MAY AND NOVEMBER, 1934-1938

MAY

YEAR	BOYS			GIRLS			Total No. Boys and Girls 14-18
	Over 16 and under 18		Total No. 14-18	Over 16 and under 18		Total No. 14-18	
	Over 14 and under 16	Over 16 and under 18		Over 14 and under 16	Over 16 and under 18		
1934	52,560*		52,560	41,360*		41,360	93,920
1935	38,088	27,032	65,120	35,691	19,707	55,398	120,518
1936	25,814	26,400	52,214	28,370	20,063	48,433	100,647
1937	13,810	22,610	36,420	19,129	19,199	38,328	74,748
1938	17,400	30,672	48,072	23,437	31,701	55,138	103,210

NOVEMBER

YEAR	BOYS			GIRLS			Total No. Boys and Girls 14-18
	Over 16 and under 18		Total No. 14-18	Over 16 and under 18		Total No. 14-18	
	Over 14 and under 16	Over 16 and under 18		Over 14 and under 16	Over 16 and under 18		
1934	31,749	29,444	61,193	28,374	20,301	48,675	109,868
1935	32,695	26,324	59,019	31,427	19,905	51,332	110,351
1936	19,626	25,393	45,019	23,617	21,414	45,031	90,050
1937	13,075	24,201	37,276	18,059	25,512	43,571	80,847
1938	18,941	32,069	51,010	21,994	28,110	50,104	101,114

* Separate figures for each of the two age-groups are not available.

Note: Of those aged 14 and 15 a considerable proportion were still at school although registered as applicants for employment.

for less than six months. A measure of the period of unemployment can be made by studying the numbers of those between sixteen and eighteen who applied for insurance benefit or unemployment allowances. The fourteen to sixteen group cannot be examined similarly as at this age boys and girls are not eligible for benefit or independent allowances. Furthermore a considerable number did not apply. The result is to indicate that over 95 per cent. had been unemployed for less than six months, and about 1 per cent. for more than twelve months. As it appears that there was more unemployment in the sixteen to eighteen than in the fourteen to sixteen group these figures would probably make a better showing if the whole four-year range were included. Another fact of some importance is that a large number of those shown as unemployed were caught on the day of the count in the interval between jobs, and therefore were not unemployed in the ordinary sense.

Nevertheless when all allowance is made the situation was very far from satisfactory. Indeed it was serious. But the evil was patchy. In certain parts of the country it was extremely serious, such as the four Special Areas of Durham and Tyneside, South Wales; the waist of Scotland and West Cumberland, as well as in a number of other districts such as Merseyside, Hull, Bristol, Dundee. At the same time there were centres like London, Birmingham and Oxford where juvenile labour was scarce.

Certain causes coalesced to produce this anomalous situation. The first was the difference in the kinds of work available. In centres of heavy industry the demand was relatively small, whereas the light manufacturing industries of the South and the Midlands wanted a large amount of juvenile labour. Where general unemployment prevailed, a reduction of spending power depressed commercial activity and reduced the demand for juvenile labour. The other main factor was the immobility of youth. A boy or girl does not normally earn a full living wage. So long as they can live at home their earnings swell the family exchequer enough to make them an economic asset, but they cannot live away from home and find their own board, lodging and other necessities of life. The adult can move to an area where employment exists, but the boy and girl are tethered. If they can get work which includes board and lodging the case is different; and that is one reason why it has been traditional for girls to leave home for domestic service. Boys to a lesser extent do the same thing, but apart from hotels, clubs and some

farms there are few places where they can get living-in jobs.

There are two ways of meeting these difficulties: to take to the bad areas industries which would absorb juvenile labour, and to take juvenile labour to areas where it could be used. Both these methods were tried. We will refer to them in the reverse order which accords with the actual sequence, but not necessarily with economic and social wisdom.

In 1935 the Unemployment Insurance Act extended the powers of the Minister of Labour to assist the transfer of unemployed juveniles from certain scheduled areas to places where employment could be found for them. The system had started to operate for boys in 1928 and for girls in 1929. The Ministry effected the transfer, and was responsible for welfare conditions. These included detailed supervision of the boy and girl on reaching their destination, and for their being met and placed in suitable lodgings. It must make sure that the job was suitable in its nature and in its conditions of work and pay. There must be no exploitation, with low wages or dead-end occupation. The Ministry was also responsible through the Juvenile Employment Officer and the local Juvenile Committee for keeping in touch with the transferee and seeing that he had proper facilities for recreation and was not without friendship and guidance when difficulties arose.

The Ministry also bore such expense as was necessary to bridge the gulf between wages earned and the cost of subsistence, and to ensure a reasonable amount of pocket-money for each boy and girl, grading it according to age from 4s. a week for those under sixteen to 5s. for those over sixteen.

The scheme came to an end with the outbreak of war, but during the time of its operation over 80,000 boys and girls were transferred in approximately equal numbers. The peak was reached in 1936 when 9,449 boys and 5,958 girls were transferred.

Fierce controversy has raged round this experiment. It has won high praise and received severe condemnation. Undoubtedly it was open to objections, but much of the adverse criticism was unfair. It met strong opposition from those areas where conservative tradition ran contrary to the idea of the young leaving parental care at so early an age. Fond mothers might be used to letting their girls go away to domestic service, but the idea of letting a boy leave home was unfamiliar and wholly unacceptable. Laudable anxiety for the child's welfare intensified parental opposition, and could not be overcome by assurances that the

Ministry would attend to details of welfare. Undoubtedly the Ministry failed in some cases. It laid down rules with wisdom, insight and human sympathy;* its officers and many members of Juvenile Committees, as well as other organizations, devoted patient care to the task of caring for transferees; but there were inevitable failures. Sometimes the after-care was inadequate; boys were placed in unsuitable jobs and assigned to lodgings where they were not looked after properly; some lads got into mischief and fell into bad ways; in certain cases boys and girls were ill-chosen and should not have been transferred. Every failure became notorious in the home circle and prejudice was doubly strengthened, so that the large amount of success was apt to be swamped in a flood of criticism.

Undoubtedly there was a considerable wastage, and numbers of boys and girls returned home to serve as shocking evidence against this dreadful scheme. But before condemning the whole thing on these grounds, we must examine the matter more carefully. In the first place the tradition to which we have referred was prejudicial from the start. Most boys and girls on first leaving their parents will suffer the anguish of home-sickness; and the best agency for cure is a wise and kindly parent. If however a fond mother in a spirit of resentful "I told you so" immediately sends her darling the price of a fare home there is little likelihood of success for the efforts of those who are doing their best to help nostalgic youth over the first difficult weeks. It is significant that the tendency to run home showed more in the older transferees than in the younger. This is to be expected. A child of fourteen will settle down more easily than a lad of seventeen. He is more readily adaptable and he is less likely to have the courage to take the risks of making off on his own. It is noteworthy that an examination of wastage in one year (1937) showed that about one-third of those who returned home did so because of home-sickness or insistence on the part of parents. Another fact which emerged was that 73 per cent. of those who returned because of home-sickness did so within three months. This suggests, as one would expect, that if a boy can be helped to stay out the difficult early period he is likely to settle down.

An important point to remember in the case of girls is that numbers who went into domestic service and swelled the per-

* *Juvenile Transference Scheme: After-Care of Transferred Juveniles*, Ministry of Labour, Memorandum No. 3, May, 1935, is worth careful study.

centage of wastage by returning home within a relatively short time were soon back again. After they had been in a place for a few months they had acquired a character and gone home for a holiday. Armed with a written reference and with some local knowledge and acquaintanceship the girl could find a place for herself in the same town, but her replacement would not be brought into account and she would remain statistically as a failure to be debited to the scheme. Such cases are believed to have been numerous.

One must also remember that in general it was not the best type of boy and girl who would come into the scheme. These would tend to get the local jobs and the remainder would fall into unemployment and be the ones for transfer. It is noteworthy that the best type of boy and girl came from the areas of blackest depression. That is as might be expected. In a place like Liverpool there was serious unemployment, but also a considerable amount of employment which would absorb the most employable type. In South Wales and County Durham, on the other hand, there were spots where the chance of local employment was so small that many of the best boys and girls must leave home if they were to get work.

More serious than these very natural human objections to the scheme is the economic and sociological argument that by transferring youth in large quantities from a district you are killing the future of the place. This may not be serious in the case of girls. In South Wales or Durham it is traditional for girls to go into domestic service for a few years and then to return and marry. In any case the young men will find wives, even if they have to fetch them. But if a boy leaves his native village and strikes roots elsewhere there is every likelihood of his never returning to be a member of the home community. Where there is a decaying economic basis of that community, as is strikingly exemplified in the villages of an expiring coalfield, the social consequences are lamentable. Through generations a network of social organization has grown up. Houses, shops, schools, churches, places of amusement, hospitals have been built, streets and parks have been laid out, a system of local government has been developed, numbers of individuals depend for their livelihood on maintaining the population which they serve—tradesmen, local government officials, parsons, teachers, doctors. A complex of local patriotism and self-esteem as a community is the expression of an intense will to preserve the village or the

town in the state to which it has developed. To allow the population to dwindle is to increase for those who stay the individual burden of maintaining this invested capital. Rather than permit this, it is urged, support the redundant population from public funds. As the law stands this must be done to a considerable extent out of the earnings of the decreasing remnant of wage-earners in the same community. And so the vicious spiral grows ever higher and faster. Then comes the cry that other and fatter regions should provide the support, through nationally raised funds. To which outside interests retort that if there is no work in the Welsh valley let the ex-miner be a worker in busy Coventry.

For years we have plunged this way and that in a welter of contrary arguments and uncertain policies; but if we are to survive the chaos threatening industry after the war we must decide quickly what our policy is going to be. This is no place to marshal all the arguments impelling us to formulate a scheme for the location of industry, but unless a scheme is worked out and put into effect decisively the outlook for the country as a whole is alarming to contemplate.

We have toyed with the principle by the establishment with government funds of trading estates in the Special Areas: Team Valley, St. Helen Auckland and Pallion in County Durham; Hillington near Glasgow, Maryport in Cumberland and Treforest in South Wales. In this way a start has been given to the principle of taking light industries, with Government assistance, to areas where the decay of heavy industries has left the community in the lurch. Earlier opposition to these schemes has become dulled with time, and the Royal Commission on the Geographical Distribution of Industrial Population in its Report has blessed the principle. Unfortunately the Commission made disappointingly feeble recommendations regarding the way to deal with the problem and publication came only when the country was pre-occupied with war. It is not to be thought that population can or should be stabilized without exception. While seeking to avoid wasting either capital or local patriotism, both of which are valuable assets, by allowing industrial areas to die through slow bleeding away of work and population, it will be necessary in any plan to recognize that some places have ceased to have any economic *raison d'être*. A striking example is Tow Law in the uplands of County Durham, a moribund Urban District. Without any remaining industrial basis since its iron and coal

have been exhausted, it ought to revert to its pristine state of a rural village. We shall have to face the harsh necessity of abolishing some centres or reducing them designedly and scientifically to their former rural status. You can fill many teeth: some must be extracted. It is the best, or only, way to avoid pain in the end.

The war has thrown the whole of industry into a state of flux. Factories are being built on a vast scale all over the land, in centres of heavy population and in remotest areas; masses of labour are being transported hither and thither. Although it is impossible to keep track of the movement of population owing to large-scale evacuation and the transference of labour there can be little doubt that never, not even during the last war, has there been so swift and vast a disturbance in this country. And the process is far from complete.

The future prospects of youth are bound up in these changes. If the location of industry is planned scientifically and is related to the incidence of population there should be less need to transfer juvenile labour. If, however, industry is not so organized, and let it be recognized that immensely powerful vested interests will fight for maintenance of a condition of *laissez faire*, then the only alternative to juvenile unemployment on a large scale will be revival of the transference scheme.

In any case it may be necessary to restore it as a supplement to any plan of location. Nor need we condemn it as a bad thing. If the scheme as it existed for ten years is fairly appraised one must recognize that it showed a large measure of success. On the lowest ground it justified itself as providing an alternative to the utterly bad condition of young people rotting at home in idleness. It was open to criticism in so far as it was concentrated on a few spots of high unemployment, with the result that places already depressed felt that they were being stripped of the young in whom lay their only hope. It may not have been a deeply reasoned objection, but it was deeply felt.

In itself it is no bad thing for the young to move about and to learn independence away from mother's apron-strings. There is an established tradition for middle-class mothers to let their boys go away to a boarding school or to a first job. There are two factors operating against this with the majority of mothers. First they have difficulty in looking beyond the confines of their own protective instinct which urges them to keep the lad under their direct care: they cannot envisage the possibility of alternative care or limit their fears of the unknown.

Then there is the prejudice in other than the middle classes against communal living. The prime consideration in any scheme of juvenile transference should be the provision of well run hostels. To the boy who has lived in a boarding-school life in a hostel is nothing new in essence. To the working lad the idea carries with it a trail of unsavoury associations. If any of his friends has lived in an institution it is because of some misfortune or misbehaviour. He has been in an orphanage, an Approved School or a hospital. It is a vital fact that virtually no boy from a working-class home experiences institutional life as the result of a voluntary decision by his parent. The idea of hostel life is therefore strange and tainted. It may be that the huge system of hostels now being built for the tens of thousands of war workers may at any rate do something to break down this particular prejudice. If they are well conducted they may help to remove the dislike which militated considerably against the hostels which were provided for juvenile transferees.

The large majority of transferred boys were housed in approved lodgings and the bulk of girls went to living-in jobs. But a small number of hostels were provided and existing ones were utilized. The chief agencies were the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association. Except in rare individual cases transferees did not use the ordinary hostels run by these Associations. Special hostels were organized with the financial backing of the Ministry of Labour. There were four for boys and two for girls in London. There were also hostels for girls in Redditch and Welwyn. The Leicester Education Committee opened one for girls and the Birmingham Committee had a receiving hostel for boys. A few firms which were anxious to use boys made private arrangements. In addition the Ministry of Labour placed boys in existing hostels for boys, especially in London.

A valuable part of the transference scheme was the arrangement by which boys likely to prove suitable in agriculture were given training on the land. There were a few agencies operating this plan, but the most important was the Young Men's Christian Association. It had hostels at which boys lived for ten weeks and worked as trainees with surrounding farmers. The main centre was at Boston Spa in Yorkshire, and there were smaller ones at Ham Green near Bristol and at Hambleden near Henley. In the three years 1935-37 some 900 boys were placed on farms and of these 847 were trained by the Young Men's Christian

Association. The scheme included after-care for a period of fifteen months, and so far as could be judged from a sample follow-up study of 260 by the Ministry of Labour the stabilization of the boys was successful. Only one was found to be unemployed and the cause was ill-health.

A weakness in the scheme was that boys could not be taken into training unless they came from a scheduled area. The facts that they were suitable for a farming career and that the land needed more workers were not sufficient ground for giving boys the benefits of the scheme. If the Ministry of Agriculture had supported them the Association would have won the necessary concessions sooner. Before the war there was a slight relaxation and now the urgent need for labour on the land has loosened the restrictions. The scheme has been extended and there are now four centres in which during the year ended 30th November, 1941, 604 boys were trained. Altogether 3,338 have been placed during the nine years since the scheme was started.

Any town boy of 14 to 19 years of age may now apply for training in agriculture. Boys are placed with farmers for eight weeks and given pocket money. The scheme is under the Department of Agriculture, acting through County War Agricultural Executive Committees. Girls may be accepted for the Women's Land Army from the age of seventeen. The Department of Agriculture has also taken over financial responsibility for the training schemes under voluntary bodies.

It was found that many boys were unsuitable for immediate transfer. Some had become run-down in physical condition, some needed preliminary discipline, and others could benefit by some preliminary training. To meet the first two needs a few Junior Transfer Centres were established. Local Authorities did not respond readily to the invitation to co-operate, but the Durham Education Committee equipped a centre in 1935, and for some years boys were given a course of training for two or three months. Liverpool also started a similar project. These Centres gave an opportunity for observing the boys, weeding out those unsuitable for transfer and getting data for the best placement of others. Even if a boy was eventually not transferred he was bound to benefit by his stay in the Centre with its ordered ways, good food and air, exercise and the chance it gave for elementary medical and dental attention.

There were also a number of Reconditioning Camps in the summer months. The Young Men's Christian Association

organized four for the Ministry of Labour. They were similar in purpose to the Transfer Centres, but the scheme was simpler and boys stayed in them for only three or four weeks. In the four years up to 1938 more than 2,100 boys after attending these camps were placed in work.

There were a few other training schemes. The Young Men's Christian Association had a centre at Plaistow for boys who were wanting to go into service in hotels, clubs and catering establishments. Boys could train for domestic service at Llan-frechfa Grange, near Newport, run by the Boy Scouts Association, or at the Cleveland Training and Educational Council's Centre at Middlesbrough. The Gravesend Sea School gave training for boys who wanted to take to seafaring.

The work of these training centres was valuable, but it did not deal with enough. In the three years ending in 1937 they placed 1,973 boys,* out of a total of 22,500 transferees. If all transferred boys had been put through a course the proportion of wastage would probably have been reduced considerably.

There were also training schemes for girls, but on a smaller scale. The chief agency was the Central Committee on Women's Training and Employment. Up to 1938 they had trained nearly 90,000, mainly for domestic service; but of this total a considerable majority were adults. Training was given in five residential centres and thirty other centres where girls and women could attend by day. The Committee also had a centre at Market Harborough for girls with a Secondary School education who wanted to qualify for clerical and higher domestic work. A large majority of the girls taking courses there were over eighteen.

Up to 1939 the Government Training Centres which gave instruction in various mechanical trades and manual crafts were open to men over eighteen. A number of young men from the areas of heavy unemployment attended these. In March of that year the age of admission was lowered to sixteen. The scheme was devised to relieve unemployment by training the unemployed for a new occupation, and since war began it has been developed as a means of training workers for war industries. A large number of boys and girls are being trained in engineering and other mechanical trades. At the same time allowances during the period of training have been made much more attractive.

Before the war trade unions were strongly opposed to the

* The Young Men's Christian Association was the agency for training 1,222 of these.

scheme which was bound to lower the ring-fence which they were concerned to preserve round their respective crafts. If a union held to the doctrine that it took five years of apprenticeship to learn a trade it was bound to deny that an unemployed man could become an efficient tradesman with six months' training. The consequence was that the Ministry of Labour found obstacles in the way of placing its trainees. The attitude of the trade unions was understandable, but in fact it is largely indefensible and not as reasonable as it seems to be at first sight. While it is true that the best type of fitter or joiner needed a longer period of training, it was undoubtedly possible to take a young man and, given keenness and good instruction, turn out the finished article more quickly than if one started with a callow boy. It is also true that a number of crafts, such as certain types of machine work or bricklaying, do not need the length of training which constitutes apprenticeship. To-day the conditions of war have persuaded the trade unions to admit the practice of dilution, including the upgrading of workers, and also to agree that certain kinds of work formerly regarded as skilled should be performed by semi-skilled or unskilled labour. This concession is limited by the undertaking by the Government to restore trade union practice after the war. They will surely keep their promise. But in the end fact is bound to prevail and trade unionism will be forced by circumstance to concede more and more in this direction. The interests which it rightly strives to preserve, in particular a just standard of wage, must be safeguarded in other ways.

Even if the wisest plans are made for the location of industry there is bound to be dislocation on a large scale resulting from the demobilization of war industries. There is no indication how this will in fact be effected, whether it will be scientifically controlled or how far it will be left to the chances of *laissez faire*. One may presume that a large degree of control will be exercised, but no precise forecast is possible. We can also be sure that there will be a change of occupation for millions and that unless the process is carefully regulated it will throw many out of work at best temporarily. To add to the problem will be the return to industry of millions of men and women now in the armed and auxiliary Forces of the Crown.

One of the first requisites for the economical use of labour, assuming that there is work to be done, is flexibility. This depends on mobility, and if this is to be attained adequate accom-

modation for the worker away from home is necessary. We come back to the need for more hostels for young workers; but they must be hostels of the right kind and run in the right spirit. So far as our study is concerned it is solacing to look forward to the raising of the school-leaving age and the establishment of Day Continuation Schools. These measures will help to keep off the labour market numbers of boys and girls for whom industry would otherwise have to provide. Nevertheless hostels for the young will remain as a need, and if as is likely it will be found wise to transfer a certain number of boys, and probably girls to a lesser degree, the policy should be to house them in properly run hostels. In the past the Ministry of Labour never believed in hostels except as a preparatory stage in which a boy settled down before going into lodgings in a suitable home. Undoubtedly there is much that a home can give which an institution cannot. On the other hand this becomes less true as the age of the individual increases. The effect of institutionalism may be bad for a young child, but this is not true in the same degree for an older adolescent. In fact the boy of sixteen or seventeen will gain immeasurably from the control and companionship, the organized recreation and the friendly discipline, which may make hostel life into a valuable educational process.

One is tempted to let the imagination run free and look forward to a type of Day Continuation School which includes residential accommodation. It might be quite practicable and economical to have in large centres of population boarding schools of this kind in which the inmates were at work for part of their time. In order to obviate segregation of the young strangers, these schools could also have as day-boys the local lads who would come in for the education which the Day Continuation School would provide.

Before leaving the question of unemployment we must glance at the system of Junior Instruction Centres which grew up between the two wars to deal with boys and girls out of work. It was held very rightly that boys and girls ought not to be left in idleness, and that if they were unemployed and were kept by State funds they should be compelled to follow some educational course. Day Continuation Schools were not established, Elementary Schools were unsuitable, and consequently a special type of school, known as a Junior Instruction Centre, was brought into being. The scheme had a chequered career from 1918 when it was started. The premises were usually most

inadequate, boys and girls drifted in and out as they fell into unemployment or got another job, and they hated these dole schools, as they were called. The result was that the Centres were most successful in areas of endemic unemployment, because the attendance was less fluctuating there than in places where boys and girls had a better chance of getting work.

The scheme came under various departments jointly with Local Authorities, and for a number of years attendance was a condition of drawing unemployment benefit, or in the early days what were known as out-of-work donations for boys and girls fifteen to eighteen years old. The system was regularized by the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1935. This made it obligatory for any boy or girl under eighteen, who had left school and was not in regular work, to attend a Junior Instruction Centre or take some other authorized course. The rule was independent of the receipt of benefit.

The responsibility for providing a Centre lay on the Local Education Authority, but the cost was borne by the Ministry of Labour. It was not necessary however to open a Centre unless in the area there were forty unemployed boys or forty unemployed girls; and only in those circumstances would grant be paid by the Ministry of Labour. Consequently many places had no Centre, or kept them open intermittently, with the result that thousands of unemployed girls and boys never attended, or attended spasmodically.

Few authorities outside the areas where unemployment was bad took the matter seriously and the Centres were starved. The constant hope that they existed to meet a temporary evil, and preoccupation with what seemed to be more important educational developments, deterred authorities from spending more on them than they were obliged.

Nevertheless they did valuable work. Despite difficulties which ought not to have been permitted the staffs of these Centres did valiant things. At first the dislike, especially on the part of the boys, amounted almost to open rebellion, but as the curriculum was modified with experience and as custom mellowed recalcitrant youth excellent results were obtained. The formal, academic element in the course was not neglected, but practical subjects were introduced, physical training was improved and opportunities were given for the pursuit of hobbies. Some developed recreational activities, including athletics and club facilities.

With the outbreak of war most of the Centres were unfor-

unately closed, but early in 1940 encouragement was given to reopen them where necessary. But it is to be hoped that before long we shall have seen the last of them. They were a makeshift at best, although a most necessary makeshift in absence of better provision for the occupation and training of unemployed youth. They were bound to fail as they lacked the element of continuity which in any educational course is essential for successful work. It is true, as we have seen, that in areas where boys and girls had little or no chance of getting work they succeeded better, for the very reason that more continuity was ensured. They were fundamentally bad because they created a depressed class of youth, by emphasizing the difference between the unemployed and those at work. Again it was in areas of prevalent unemployment that this differentiation was less harmful, as so large a proportion of boys and girls were out of work and had to attend the Centre. The Whitehaven Education Committee, conscious of this evil, refused to open any Centres and complied with the law by putting the boys and girls into courses in Evening Schools and at the same time kept down the numbers by raising the school-leaving age to fifteen. The disadvantage of this scheme was that the boys and girls over fifteen were left to idle by day.

Unsatisfactory as they were the Centres did a great deal to meet a real need,* and the devoted work done by loyal staffs, despite obstacles which they ought never to have been obliged to face, did much to prevent the worst results of juvenile unemployment. To express the hope that we shall never need to have recourse in the future to these Centres is not to disparage what thousands of boys and girls owe to those faithful men and women.

As soon as Day Continuation Schools are started the need for special Centres for the unemployed will vanish. Those who are out of work will merely attend for longer hours. There will be no essential difference between them and those who attend for part of their time.

CHAPTER V

PUBLIC PROTECTION

ALTHOUGH the State regards the adolescent when school days are finished as a worker and in many ways as an adult, it is not wholly

* For a full account see V. A. Bell, *Junior Instruction Centres and their Future*, 1934. Carnegie United Kingdom Trust Report. [All are now closed (1943).]

unmindful of its protective duties. There has grown up a mass of legislation which acts as a brake on exploitation and which provides special treatment when the young citizen is in difficulty or goes astray. In some cases this provision is made directly, but for the most part it operates indirectly through Local Authorities and voluntary bodies with the assistance of funds from the State. This matter falls mainly into two categories: regulation of employment and treatment of the unprotected or delinquent juvenile.

Regulation of employment affects millions, but the other aspects of the question concern only a small minority of adolescents. They give rise nevertheless to some serious problems. Delinquency concerns an even smaller number, but at the risk of seeming to throw the matter out of proportion we shall deal with it at some length in a separate chapter.

Regulation of Employment

The protection of the young worker is a legislative tangle and we can deal with it only in general terms.* Conditions in different trades are governed by a variety of Acts and consequently conditions of employment, notably length of hours of employment permissible, vary.

The most important of these Acts are the Factories Act, 1937, the Shops Act, 1934 and the Young Persons (Employment) Act, 1938; but Education Acts and the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, are relevant in certain cases, and there are also special clauses in yet other Acts regulating the employment of boys on railways, or in coal mines and metalliferous mines.

To add to the complexity of the situation the administration of regulations is divided between different government departments and Local Authorities. Since war began complication in this respect has been increased by bringing under the Minister of Labour and National Service the duty, which lay formerly with the Home Secretary, of administering the Factories Act; while the Shops Act and the Young Persons (Employment) Act remain under the Home Secretary. As soon as possible there should be a codification of the various relevant Acts.

Seeing that the different Acts vary in detail it is difficult to give a simple statement of the rules governing employment of young persons. In general those under sixteen may not be employed for more than 44 hours a week and those over sixteen

* For a fuller treatment see *The Needs of Youth*, ch. IX.

and under eighteen for more than 48 hours. There are exceptions and further regulations limiting the total spread of the working day, employment during the night and overtime, the obligation to give rests during the day and the weekly holiday. These vary in the different Acts and consequently in the different trades governed by the various Acts.

The disgracefully long hours and deprivation of time for recreation and education which were permissible formerly have been abolished to a considerable extent by the law, but there is still need for reform in many respects. It is no longer possible to work van boys and errand lads 60, 70 and even 90 hours a week as was the case a few years ago; nor to keep page and lift boys at work after midnight, or on a Sunday without a compensating week-day holiday. Nevertheless there is legal sanction for conditions which are highly unsuitable for growing boys and girls.

The Factories Act prohibits work after 6 p.m. for those under sixteen, or after 8 p.m. for those between sixteen and eighteen. But a boy whose employment is regulated by the Shops Act or the Young Persons (Employment) Act may be worked until 10 p.m., and if he is over sixteen and is employed by a 'caterer the limit is midnight'. Work before 6 a.m. is prohibited generally, but a boy over sixteen engaged in distributing milk, bread or newspapers may start at 5 a.m. Night shifts may also be worked, with departmental permission, by those over sixteen under the Factories Act. Before the war permission was given in cases where juvenile labour was held to be necessary for maintaining the work of an adult in industrial processes of special importance.

Permission was given more readily in the first months of war, but not to a large extent.* In 1941 after the fall of France the urgent need for speeding up production resulted in uncontrolled, or scarcely controlled, conditions. The Factory Inspectorate is now satisfied that the situation is in hand once again.† Hours of work which became excessive are being reduced to a point where in fact they are calculated to give better results. Permission to extend the hours of work and to put boys over sixteen on night work is granted under the General Emergency Order which modifies the Act. In the case of juvenile workers under sixteen the maximum hours permitted even in essential

* *Report on Hours of Employment of Women and Young Persons in Factories during the First Five Months of the War*, Cmd. 6182, 1940.

† *Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories for . . . 1940*, Cmd. 6182, 1940.

work have been 48 and no night work has been allowed, except in the pottery industry where some relaxation of the rule has been permitted recently.*

The Young Persons (Employment) Act, 1938, brought under regulation most of the trades not already governed; but there are still a considerable number of boys and girls whose employment is unregulated. The above Acts exclude from their purview all in domestic service, those employed in agriculture, building or in a ship, and many in offices.

The legislation of recent years has done much to mitigate the lot of juvenile workers, but it must be carried further. The young citizen should not be plunged into a 44-hour working week at the age of fourteen, or even fifteen. There should be an effective guarantee that no boy or girl is without the free time necessary for proper opportunities of recreation and education. We lay stress on this because even where there are theoretical guarantees it often happens in fact that boys and girls are so tired that they cannot participate in such proper activities. Even before the war it was all too common to find the boy without time for his Scout troop or evening classes or the girl who went to her club in the evening and fell asleep.

For over a century reformers have been struggling slowly but successfully for the amelioration of the lot of children. At every point the obstacle has been the argument that, however desirable it may be to improve conditions, the major need of national economic stability must prevail: that to wreck industry and commerce by depriving it of the cheap labour of the young will in the end react adversely on the young themselves. Many well-meaning folk have been scared by this bogey, but nevertheless the scandals of the chimney-sweeper, child labour in cotton mills and coal mines, and half-time work for school children have all been swept away without wrecking the industrial structure of the nation. In any case it cannot be repeated too often that the only proper approach to the problem is from the point of view that regards the well-being of the child or the youth first. Many employers have approached the matter in this way, but it is unfortunately the fact that the majority regard juvenile employment primarily as an economic problem.

It is also true that however enlightened may be the attitude of many parents, there are vast numbers who consider their children as assets to be exploited as wage-earners at the earliest

* This relaxation has since been revoked.

moment possible. The result is that on both sides there are strong forces operating against reform.

Eventually as the school system keeps youth longer under its control the problem will tend to become simpler. At the same time the law should be strengthened and regularized so that at least the best conditions now enjoyed by some juvenile workers are the rule for all, and those not under regulation should be brought within the protection of the law.

Protection

There are two groups of boys and girls needing protection: those who lack the natural care to be found in the home, because their parents are dead, incapacitated or negligent; and those who by their own delinquency need the guidance of institutional discipline. In essence the two conditions may be closely linked through the failure of parents to perform their duties to their children, for, as has been well said, in many cases of juvenile delinquency it is the parents who should be punished.

Under the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, juveniles under seventeen who are guilty of no delinquency but are "falling into bad associations, or exposed to moral danger" may be brought before the Juvenile Court and placed under the protection of the law. In such cases they may be committed to proper custody of a fit person or placed in an Approved School. It seems a strange thing that this power has been used so rarely for adolescents. The chief reason probably is that in the public mind a working-class lad is an industrial worker at fourteen and the presumption follows that he can support himself. We do not feel that way about a middle-class boy of fifteen or sixteen who runs away from a public school. There is also the traditional prejudice against depriving of liberty of movement any citizen who has committed no offence. The law is rightly slow to deprive parents of their children, but it may be in the best interest of the child to do so. In 1936 about 60 boys and 100 girls between fourteen and eighteen were so committed. In view of the fact that the conditions of war have increased the strain on accommodation in Approved Schools so considerably it is improbable that the power is much exercised at present.

Homes and Orphanages

The system of orphanages and homes which has grown up during the past hundred years is a remarkable testimony to

private benevolence. Large organizations such as the Homes for Waifs and Strays, the National Children's Home and Orphanage and Dr. Barnardo's are well known. To these must be added the institutions managed by Local Authorities through their Public Assistance Committees.

The trouble with all these homes is the danger of developing a type of boy and girl marked with the traits which are apt to characterize those brought up by the mass methods of institutionalism. Notable improvements have been made by the introduction of more skilled and sympathetic administration, and in some cases by the break-up of the institutions into small groups in which conditions and relationships approximate to those of a family. Some Local Authorities lean to the practice of boarding out their young charges in the families of foster parents. This involves risks but where conditions are good it is an excellent way. It demands much care and watchful supervision.

It is not possible to estimate exactly how many between fourteen and eighteen are living in orphanages and similar homes, but probably the figure before the war was about 10,000. Most of these institutions take the child at an early age and keep a certain number through adolescence. Promising children may be given a Secondary School education, but the majority after fourteen are taught some vocation. The boys learn various crafts or are trained for the sea, and even in peace time a number went into the regular armed forces. Girls are trained mostly for domestic service or laundry work, and some are taught a skilled trade such as dressmaking.

The work of the guardian body cannot be regarded as complete unless there is a successful launching into life. Its work is only preparatory to the making of independent men and women; and the test is in the result. To bridge the gap it is important to have a good system of after-care. In this there is variety of practice, but the need is becoming more fully recognized and there has been a tendency towards improvement in this matter.

Hostels

Another aspect of the question is the need of the boy and girl who has a home but is obliged to live at a distance. It is no new thing for the young to go away to find work. With girls the question of residential accommodation arose rarely before the war as the majority went to living-in jobs. They were mostly

engaged in domestic service. This is true to some extent for boys, who may be employed in an hotel, a club or a private household where living accommodation is provided. But the majority are obliged to find their own quarters. This usually means lodging in a private house, and if the boy has to make his own arrangements he is probably rash in his choice, which is based on cheapness and willingness to rough it. The result is that some lads going to large cities live in shocking conditions of squalor and overcrowding. And unless board is part of the terms of employment they are apt to feed inadequately or unwisely. Few lads, even if they are affluent, are good dieticians. There are bad landladies; but there are many, even in rough conditions, who do show a motherly and kindly interest in the boys and young men for whom they provide. Harpies exist; but in the main folk are kind to lads.

Undoubtedly the best environment for the boy living from home is a hostel. But it must be run in the right way. A good warden will recognize the natural, or it may be called the unnatural, cravings of the working boy, who has shed the restraint of home times, for what he thinks is freedom. So strong is this lust for liberty that many would much rather live in dirty, comfortless lodgings, than brook the discipline attached to a hostel which gave them care, warmth, good food and opportunities for recreation.

In his social stratum there is, as we have seen,* a strong prejudice against institutions in general, as they are associated with orphanages, reformatory schools and such places which imply misfortune or punishment. The middle-class boy is used to the idea of boarding-school and there is a lively demand from such boys who are working away from home to have hostel accommodation. Apart from Young Men's Christian Association hostels and a few others of a similar kind there is almost nothing to meet the need of the middle-class boy.

For the working lad there is some provision in London, but little in the provinces. The London Homes for Working Boys have been long in the field with seven houses in different parts of London. The Church Army and the Young Men's Christian Association and the Fellowship of St. Christopher have hostels. In the East End there is the notable John Benn Hostel, and in South London King George's Jubilee Trust founded King George's House and committed it to the same management.

* See p. 40 *supra*.

This large hostel, and maybe others, have suffered severe war damage. In the provinces there is one under the Birmingham Local Authority. Before the war a few industrial firms had established hostels in London and the provinces.

The development by the Ministry of Labour of the scheme for transferring unemployed juveniles* from the Special Areas raised in acute form the necessity of making adequate provision for boys working away from home. Very properly the critics of the scheme insisted on the necessity of including satisfactory arrangements for residence. This emphasized the fact that the wage of a juvenile worker will not meet the cost of residence and the Ministry of Labour from the start undertook to meet what was necessary. They took the boy's wages, gave him back a certain portion as pocket money and made up the balance to meet the cost of his board and lodging. A few firms which employed boys away from home made a similar provision; but the total number of boys accommodated in this way was small. How many were sending for themselves is unknown. In all likelihood it was not a large number, but it was certainly too many.

The war has caused new developments. Thousands of boys are at present engaged on the many large constructional contracts in progress for the Government.† They are earning more than a sufficient subsistence wage and therefore they can afford to migrate without assistance. Probably the majority of these are living at home, but there are migrants living in lodgings and a certain number housed in contractors' hostels. It is the duty of the contractor to have a Welfare Officer to supervise conditions, but he is not legally responsible for conditions outside the site of the works. It lies with the Ministry of Labour and National Service to see that contractors fulfil their obligations. The attractiveness of work on clearing up after air raids and repairing damage‡ is a magnet to large numbers of lads. The work is mainly unskilled, it is not exacting and it is highly remunerative. The number of boys moving about to work of this kind has not been estimated, but it is certainly considerable, and there is not adequate machinery for supervising the welfare conditions of young workers who are engaged away from home. It is safe to assert that in many cases the conditions are bad.

There were before the war a few hostels for girls working in jobs away from home. The Homes for Working Girls had 350

* See pp. 34 ff. *supra*. † This has now largely ceased.

beds in London, but nearly all the inmates were professional or business girls. A young industrial worker even if she had wished to live in a hostel could rarely afford it, despite the efforts of the Society to keep fees low. The Church Army, the Salvation Army, and the Mabys Association had some hostels and there were some Roman Catholic homes. The Young Women's Christian Association also opened some hostels in London and one or two in the provinces in conjunction with the scheme for the transference of juvenile industrial workers. There was also a hostel for girls in Birmingham, but few of the inmates were under eighteen.

The war has given rise once again to the necessity of moving vast masses of labour to distant factories. Generally the transferred war-worker is over eighteen, but in meeting the situation the Ministry of Labour has recognized that movement of workers carries with it the obligation to ensure that proper accommodation is available. The same principle should continue to prevail after the war at any rate as far as the young are concerned and it should be regarded as a prime necessity to make adequate provision of board and lodging within the financial reach of the young employee who cannot live at home.

The working-class boy is at a disadvantage, compared with the son of a better-to-do father, because he is less mobile. One does not want to see parts of the country denuded of their young stock, but it is a healthy thing for youth to move to a reasonable degree, especially in a small island like this. This should not take place too early, and any such tendency will be checked by the raising of the school-leaving age. But when the boy does pass from the parental roof it should be into proper tutelage. More hostels will be needed, and it will be also necessary to popularize them with boys and with parents. A first condition is that they are managed by men who know their job, and if they are to be within the financial scope of the inmates there must be a subvention from public or private funds in cases where wages are low.

The same necessity will arise for girls; but in the nature of things it is bound to be a more limited problem, as fewer girls normally seek work away except for jobs where residence is provided. It may be that domestic service will undergo considerable changes, and that maids will be supplied by organizations which house girls in hostels and regulate the conditions of service under which an employer can hire them.

Another aspect of the question is the case of the unanchored migrant. There are some boys who drift into vagrancy, but not as a rule below the age of sixteen. The number of young vagrant girls is probably very small. There will always be the runaway lad; but prolonged unemployment in recent years tended to drive on to the road the lad who hoped that over the edge of beyond he could catch the rainbow's end. In some cases the revolt against stagnating circumstance is a symptom of pluck and laudable ambition. No one knows the exact number of these vagrant lads, and to-day they are undoubtedly less numerous than they were. But if juvenile unemployment were allowed to grow to the shocking proportions which it reached before the war the problem of dealing with them would again be acute.

The war has tended to aggravate the situation in some respects; but there has not been enough research done to estimate the results. In London before the war the London County Council had an admirable system of handling homeless boys. This included the Welfare Office on the Embankment, a receiving hostel for youths and an arrangement for distributing them to residential hostels. Work was found for them and a number settled down. The recalcitrant made off again. The system is still in operation, without the receiving office on the Embankment, and a reduced number of boys are being dealt with. The first of the two new factors is the break-up of homes which has thrown boys on to their own resources. How many or few there are of these has not been computed. The other is the possibility for any lad to find permanent free lodging in an air-raid shelter at no cost to himself. That many are living in this way in London is certain;* but once again figures cannot be given. That it is utterly bad is equally certain. Apart from the cruder aspects of moral laxity which develops easily in such circumstances there is the loosening of social ties and the slackening of responsibility and self-respect which must result.

There can be no dispute that a boy under eighteen should not be allowed to wander without any more support than he can contrive for himself. Some are sturdy enough morally to come through safely, but it is too perilous. It is one thing for lads to go out with means of keeping themselves for a week or fortnight's holiday; but it is very different to be alone and penniless in a strange city. As we have seen, it is possible under the pro-

* This is less true now than during the winter of 1940-41.

visions of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, for the police or the agent of a Local Authority to bring before a Juvenile Court any boy under seventeen if there is reason to believe that he is in need of care and protection, and the Court can commit him to an institution or to a fit person to care for him. Normally it would seem clear that any vagrant of that age came within the requirements.

Once again we look forward hopefully to the Day Continuation School. When it is the law of the land that every boy shall be under the care of the school until eighteen it will be far easier to keep him under supervision. He will come under the authority of the school attendance officer, and if he decamps at any rate the fact that he has gone will be known to the Education Authority and there will be a better chance of his being picked up at his destination. There should also be a greater sense of responsibility to use their powers by Juvenile Courts, and the vagrant boy should be put into disciplinary surroundings compulsorily. A determined, mature-looking boy may dodge successfully; but the younger vagrant is likely to be checked and the older ones will find it less easy.

Finally it must be remembered that in a considerable number of cases, probably the large majority, the boy leaves home not because he is a roving hero hungry for action but because he is psychologically unstable or because there are home conditions from which he is trying to escape. Instability is nearly always a factor, whether as a cause or as an effect; and some degree of compulsion in the treatment is generally necessary.

CHAPTER VI

DELINQUENCY

THE other important fact which brings the young citizen within the scope of the law is delinquency. This is a serious matter, but a good deal of nonsense is talked and written on the subject.

The first point to emphasize is that much that is called juvenile crime is the misconduct among poorly placed children which in well-to-do families is called naughtiness and is dealt with by parents and school teachers. The next point to bear in mind is that figures are often quoted without discrimination. We are concerned with delinquency among adolescents, and figures should be examined distinctly from those applying to school children.

The laws affecting delinquency describe boys and girls between their fourteenth and seventeenth birthdays as young persons and apply the term adolescent to those between seventeen and twenty-one. Owing to the method of compiling official figures we shall consider the problem mainly as affecting the fourteen to seventeen age-group.

It is important to discriminate between indictable and non-indictable offences. Indictable offences are more serious, and include some seventy different crimes. Juvenile delinquents were found guilty of forty-seven different types of these in 1937, but theft is by far the most prevalent, and constituted 94 per cent. of the total number.

There is an even longer list of non-indictable offences which are not criminal in the usual sense of the term. Nearly 28,000 juveniles were guilty of such offences in 1937, but the range of offence was small, and one-third of them were some form of misdemeanour in connection with pedal cycles. Morally these offences are in a quite different category from indictable offences. They may be compared with such adult offences as over-running traffic lights, negligent car-parking or ineffective black-out.

Before the war the situation was not as serious as some alarmists thought. The table on page 58 brings out certain facts which are important if the situation is to be estimated fairly. This table shows an increase of delinquency over a period of eight years, but as the category of juveniles had an upper age limit of sixteen until 1934 the figures for the sixteen to seventeen age-group cannot be given until that year. It is noticeable that the numbers for boys rise suddenly in 1935. A main cause for this was the passing of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, which strengthened the prestige of, and tended to increase recourse to, the Juvenile Courts. It also brought juveniles in the sixteen to seventeen age-group within their jurisdiction for the first time.

A point needing emphasis is that total figures are in themselves misleading, unless at the same time we consider variations in the number of individuals in the age-group. Figures in columns (c), (e) and (g) are a truer measure of the real incidence of delinquency. From column (g) it is noticeable that in the last two years cited the total figures for boys increased, but the incidence of delinquency relative to the number in the age-group was stationary. Girls show a marked decline.

Juvenile delinquency is a serious matter, but we must dis-

TABLE IV*
INDICTABLE OFFENCES

YEAR	Over 14 and under 16		Over 16 and under 17		Over 14 and under 17	
	GUILTY	No. Guilty per 10,000 of the age group.	GUILTY	No. Guilty per 10,000 of the age group.	GUILTY	No. Guilty per 10,000 of the age group.
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
BOYS—						
1929 ..	4,366	62	—	—	—	—
1930 ..	4,682	70	—	—	—	—
1931 ..	4,537	73	—	—	—	—
1932 ..	4,302	75	—	—	—	—
1933 ..	4,292	80	—	—	—	—
1934 ..	5,785	85	2,327	87	8,112	85
1935 ..	7,941	100	2,755	102	10,696	101
1936 ..	7,811	104	3,813	93	11,644	101
GIRLS—						
1929 ..	389	5	—	—	—	—
1930 ..	415	6	—	—	—	—
1931 ..	377	6	—	—	—	—
1932 ..	398	7	—	—	—	—
1933 ..	332	6	—	—	—	—
1934 ..	457	7	214	8	671	7
1935 ..	585	8	288	11	873	9
1936 ..	492	6	348	9	840	7

tinguish between boyish naughtiness and the law-breaking which develops into a criminal habit. It is therefore in the higher age-groups that it is most serious. The figures above show that although there was an increase in the fourteen to sixteen group, the sixteen to seventeen group showed a decline. As far as it goes that is satisfactory.

It is not surprising that in the general loosening of social and domestic ties caused by the tumultuous conditions of war there should be an increase in juvenile delinquency. Detailed figures are not available, but enough have been published to indicate a noticeable deterioration. A Conference convened by the Home Office has had before it certain material of which some has been made public.† Comparison for the first four months of the years 1939 and 1940 of the figures for delinquents in the fourteen

* From *The Needs of Youth*, p. 166.

† *Juvenile Offences*, Memorandum by the Home Office and the Board of Education, June 1941.

to seventeen age-group found guilty of indictable offences showed an increase of 41 per cent.

A similar comparison for the second four months of the same years showed an increase of 26 per cent. This slowing down of the deterioration may be due to a re-orientation of life after the disturbance of the first winter of war, the shortening of the black-out as the year advanced, and the general tendency for a reduction in delinquency as open-air pursuits engaged the attention and energy of mischievous youth.

Another fact of importance is that for the two periods of eight months (January to August) in 1939 and 1940 the increase of offenders in the seventeen to twenty-one age-group was much smaller, namely 9.7 per cent.

Until more detailed figures are published it is wise to reserve judgement; but it is clear that a problem serious enough before the war, although somewhat 'exaggerated', has become more serious. There is no reason for panic measures, but there is good reason for grappling with the situation without delay. The means of doing this are not obscure, and as delay in action has been due largely to obscurantism it may be a good thing in the end if a sudden increase in delinquency forces public opinion to see the need and the remedy.

Before jumping to pessimistic conclusions on the evidence of popular rumour and newspaper reports of juvenile delinquency it is well to examine the matter more closely. In the first place the methods of treating delinquency are still crude. In some areas they are most enlightened; in others they lack wisdom:

The system of Juvenile Courts was established in 1908. The upper age limit of offenders brought before them was sixteen, but in 1933 this was raised to seventeen. In 1907 the probation system had been introduced. The Juvenile Court embodies two principles, the main one being that juvenile delinquency is an aberration due largely to environmental causes which may be removed and to habits which may be corrected. Secondly, treatment of delinquency is an educational process. This does not mean that punishment is undesirable or useless, but it does imply that punishment is not enough. Delinquency is more likely to occur where parental control is weak, and the probation system is an attempt by the State to substitute an officer who by training and position is fitted to perform the duty which parents have failed to carry out.

In this system some see only a flabby sentimental attitude

towards the delinquent and call loudly for some simple and obvious treatment such as the stick. There can be no doubt, whether or not we agree that it is efficacious, that the stick is a simple means of correction. Many wise and experienced persons believe that in the main it is not as efficacious as some other remedies, and there can be little doubt that there are many cases in which it certainly is an exceedingly bad educational method. The angry old gentlemen who delight in their reminiscences of erstwhile lickings rarely consider the difference between the caning by a father or schoolmaster and the judicial execution by a policeman of an order of the court. Such a proceeding undoubtedly tends to make certain tougher types of boy into spurious heroes or to harden them still more, and to do ineradicable damage to the sensitive. And it must not be thought that no delinquents are sensitive.

The variety and confusion of thought which prevail are demonstrated by the wide disparity of practice to be found in different Juvenile Courts. An example of this is the extent to which probation is used. In 1937 the proportion of juvenile offenders put on probation was 50 per cent. in England and Wales as a whole; but it varies between 29.4 per cent. in Bristol and 78.1 per cent. in Birmingham.

Another example is the practice of dismissal by the court. It showed an average for England and Wales of 22.5 per cent.; but it was as low as 2.9 per cent. in Newcastle upon Tyne and as high as 54.5 per cent. in Liverpool.

There is also a practice of binding over the offender. Many courts rarely do this without placing him under the supervision of a probation officer; others follow the bad practice of doing so on a considerable scale. The extreme figures are 0.8 per cent. in Liverpool, and 23.9 per cent. in Bristol.

Lastly, there is a remarkable disparity in the incidence of juvenile delinquency as shown by the official figures. The following tables* illustrate this point. The places were taken at random from the official returns.

It is true that for certain observable causes the degree of delinquency may vary from place to place. Poverty, bad housing, unemployment, lack of facilities for recreation intensify the evil; but they cannot account for such differences as the figures show for places like Oxford and Chester with ratios of 0.74 and

* From *The Needs of Youth*, p. 169. They are based on the *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, 1936*, pp. 168 ff.

TABLE V
DELINQUENCY—INCIDENCE IN ELEVEN POLICE
DISTRICTS PICKED AT RANDOM

<i>Police District</i>	<i>Juveniles 8 to 16 found guilty of indictable offences in 1933*</i>	<i>Total population of area (1931 census)</i>	<i>Juveniles 8 to 16 guilty of indictable offences per 10,000 of population of area</i>
Bedford	2	40,573	0.49
Bristol	92	402,042	2.29
Cambridgeshire (excluding Cambridge and Isle of Ely)	1	73,215	0.14
Chester	20	41,438	4.83
Cumberland (excluding Carlisle)	74	205,847	3.59
Exeter	16	66,029	2.42
Leicester	30	261,744	1.15
Margate	2	31,312	0.64
Norwich	19	126,236	1.51
Oxford	6	80,540	0.74
Reading	3	97,153	0.31

TABLE VI
POLICE DISTRICTS IN WHICH THE LARGEST NUMBER OF JUVENILES WERE FOUND GUILTY OF INDICTABLE OFFENCES IN THE YEAR 1933 IN ENGLAND AND WALES, EXCLUDING THE METROPOLITAN DISTRICT

<i>Police District</i>	<i>Juveniles 8 to 16 found guilty of indictable offences in 1933*</i>	<i>Total population of area (1931 census)</i>	<i>Juveniles 8 to 16 guilty of indictable offences per 10,000 of population of area</i>
Cheshire (excluding 8 towns)	207	567,080	3.6
Kingston upon Hull ..	242	313,366	7.7
Manchester	378	766,311	4.9
Lancashire (excluding 21 towns)	388	1,675,161	2.3
Glamorganshire (excluding 4 towns)	397	732,824	5.4
Birmingham	442	1,002,413	4.4
Durham County (excluding 4 towns)	536	1,041,329	5.1
West Riding of Yorkshire (excluding 10 towns) ..	577	1,530,426	3.8
Liverpool	896	855,539	10.4

* At this date the upward age limit for a juvenile was sixteen

4.83 per cent. respectively; or Bristol with 2.29 per cent. and Kingston upon Hull with 7.7 per cent. The fact is that there is an indefensible variety of practice in different places, and there is urgent need for some regularization of policy in the judicial treatment of the young delinquent.

A first step should be the reform of the Juvenile Courts. It was recently reported to Parliament that of the 5,039 lay magistrates whose ages were known only 12 per cent. were under fifty and only 2.6 per cent. under forty years of age. On the other hand 60 per cent. were over sixty, and nearly 20 per cent. over seventy. If magistrates, and especially chairmen, were selected for Juvenile Courts on the basis of their special qualifications this high age level of the magistracy as a whole might not affect our problem, but unfortunately this is not the case and Justices too frequently lack the knowledge and qualities required for the handling of young delinquents. On the other hand some Juvenile Courts are conducted in a most enlightened way by experienced and wise magistrates. The handling of delinquency demands capacity for insight into the young mind, ability to distinguish between the many types of cause and motive underlying misconduct, qualities of sympathy and of sternness, and skill in adapting treatment to the nature of the offence. Where such conditions prevail the remedial work of the court may be valuable and effective.

Great hope lies in the probation system and it has produced excellent results. But it also calls for improvement. The Home Office has been at pains to raise the standard of qualification for probation officers, but there are many who are not well enough qualified. Further there are not enough of them to deal adequately with the cases in their charge. If the work is to be carried out satisfactorily the probation officer must not only make an individual study of each case, but must have time to become familiar with, and perhaps help to remedy, the domestic and social environment of the delinquent. The war has aggravated the situation and it has been stated recently that probation officers are responsible for 70, 80 and even 120 cases at one time. Such a load reduces the system to a farce.

Another cause of disparity in treatment is the varying practice of the police authorities in charging young delinquents. Some will warn the boy and bring him before the court only for the second or third offence in which he has been caught. The reason may be sheer good nature, or it may be that the practice of the

court is so ineffective that the police lose patience. But the result may be bad. A Juvenile Court should be regarded primarily as an educational agency with corrective functions. If it is to have the best chance of succeeding in its task it must have as early an opportunity as possible of dealing with the delinquent. Every relapse from good conduct makes the case harder to treat. This does not mean that for every trifling misdemeanour a youth should be rushed before the court, but there is grave danger of letting a boy go too far before he is taken in hand seriously.

The better Juvenile Courts work in close co-operation with the school authorities. It is prescribed that they should act with the Education Authority, and no school child, or adolescent recently out of school, ought to be dealt with until the school record, and if possible the personal evidence of a responsible teacher familiar with the delinquent, are before the court. These would seem to be elementary requirements, but they are apt to be overlooked. A good schoolmaster may be a most potent agent for dealing with the young delinquent, in co-operation with the probation officer. At present the boy over fourteen is not likely to be at school, but when the Day Continuation School develops there will be a new means of holding and treating the delinquent as a member of the school community with its beneficent environment and influence.

Another way in which Juvenile Courts differ is in the use they make of detention. There are various kinds of institution for this purpose, of which the main ones are Approved Schools, Remand Homes and Borstal Institutions.

Approved Schools are so called because they are inspected and recognized by the Home Office. They belong to voluntary societies or Local Authorities. They receive those not more than seventeen years of age, and must discharge them not later than at the age of nineteen. They are generally organized to take boys or girls of a junior or a senior age range, so as not to mix them in one institution. The usual practice is to commit for a period of three years, and the method of rehabilitation is to train for some calling. Landwork, tailoring, baking, wood and metal crafts are much taught; and in a number of schools organized as training ships or as shore establishments lads are educated as seafarers. Girls are trained mostly in domestic or laundry work.

There has been, not without reason, considerable prejudice against these schools; but methods and management have im-

proved considerably. Many of them give excellent training and through education make the delinquent into a useful citizen. Nevertheless there is still the disadvantage, perhaps ineradicable, of institutional life, which too often produces a habit of mind and conduct characteristic of those who are brought up in such an environment. At the same time this must be balanced against the greater risk of leaving the boy or girl in the worse conditions of a bad home.

The stigma of the Approved School, or the Reformatory as it used to be named, or the home for bad girls as some still call it even now, remains. As a result there are magistrates who shrink from committing the delinquent. Rightly they hesitate at what is a deprivation of liberty affecting both the child and the parent. Similarly the parent often uses all means of dissuading the court from giving the delinquent what may be the best chance of education and re-establishment. In this matter, as so often in the treatment of juvenile delinquency, magistrates adopt varying policies. The tendency to commit to Approved Schools has increased. In 1933, 9.5 per cent. of delinquents were so treated; but the proportion varied from 3.5 per cent. in Glamorgan to 22.1 per cent. in Newcastle upon Tyne.

Certain schools have been criticized with justice on various scores, but there can be no doubt that there has been considerable improvement. Old-fashioned ways have given place to new and better methods. The material with which these schools have to deal is in the nature of things poorer on the average in physical, mental and moral quality, and it is praiseworthy that they have achieved the real measure of success to their credit. At the same time there is a large margin for improvement.

A serious difficulty is the lack of accommodation. There were before the outbreak of war 102 Approved Schools, of which 72 belonged to voluntary societies and 30 to public authorities. These contained in the year 1936-37 a total of 5,320 boys and girls over fourteen and under eighteen, of whom 4,357 were boys and 963 were girls. It is believed that this provision has been reduced by the exigencies of war, and that conditions have deteriorated owing to the necessity of evacuation and the depletion of staffs. Before the war the provision was inadequate and in the view of the Home Office some Local Authorities were not doing their duty. The present situation is more serious still, as was pointed out recently by the Committee referred to above. They gave as one of the reasons for increased pressure the fact

that Approved Schools have won such a high reputation for valuable work that courts tend to commit more offenders to them.

For the more serious case and for the older delinquent there is the Borstal Institution. The essence of this system is education. It has been described as a "combination of mental, moral, physical and industrial training of a strenuous kind". It is based on a belief that until failure proves the contrary every young delinquent can by appropriate means be educated into being a worthy and useful member of society. There is much ignorance of what the Borstal system is. Harm is done by those who without knowledge of its working and its results criticize it as a mild and sentimental treatment of young criminals who would be the better for a stiff term of imprisonment or a sharp flogging. Unfortunately it is the recidivist cases which attract the attention of journalists and the public, while the majority who constitute the successes, estimated at about 70 per cent. of the whole, are uninteresting and unnoticed.

Borstal receives only those between sixteen and twenty-three years of age. Committal must be for a term of at least two years, but after the expiry of six months the authorities may order discharge. The principle is to train out of anti-social into social habits and when this appears to have been effected the boy or girl is put back into the ordinary conditions of life. In all cases they remain under the watch and guidance of the Borstal Association until four years after committal.

There are two main faults in the judicial use of Borstal. Some courts commit those who ought to have been put on probation. Others who are not severe enough delay too long and send the delinquent only when he has become hardened by a long career of misconduct.

As the law stands at present no one under the age of sixteen may normally be sent to prison. When war broke out there was before Parliament the Criminal Justice Bill which proposed to raise the minimum age immediately to seventeen and eventually to twenty-one. The principle underlying this measure is the belief that the young delinquent is in most cases educable and that one of the most important factors in re-establishment is to keep the youthful offender away from demoralizing influences. Prison conditions have improved and steps have been taken to segregate the younger prisoner from the old sinner; and such experiments as camps have been introduced. But it is only when the system

becomes more fully educational in spirit and practice that reform will be put on a satisfactory basis.

A frequent ground of criticism is the lack of means for dealing with the naughty boy who needs punishment. He should not be committed for a long period, but supervision by a probation officer may not suffice without a dose of punishment. Punishment may be most salutary, although in some cases and in some forms it may be a bad thing. It is bad if it hardens the offender or if it throws him into an environment of criminals among whom he is likely to deteriorate. He needs not the punishment which the law prescribes for an adult criminal, but what a very naughty boy would receive from a wise father or schoolmaster.

Practice is feeling its way in this direction. It is possible to deprive a delinquent of his liberty for a short period without committing him to an institution for a long term, by detention at a police station or at the court up to eight o'clock in the evening, or in police cells for not more than four days. The Criminal Justice Bill proposed to abolish the practice of detaining boys at a police station for more than one night. It does not however remove another power, that is to detain an offender up to four weeks in a Remand Home; but this power has been little used. One reason has been the dearth of satisfactory accommodation in Remand Homes, and this lack has been intensified by conditions of war.

Courts are faced with a real difficulty. If they feel that a delinquent needs punitive treatment they can follow one of several courses, none of which may seem suitable. They can fine the delinquent or the parent. They can commit the boy or girl to some place of detention, but for a period of not less than two years. They may in certain circumstances have a boy beaten. They may feel that none of these methods meets the need, and apart from ordering detention in police cells for a few weeks they have no option but to adopt one of these methods or to restore the delinquent to liberty on probation.

The new Bill proposed the establishment of Howard Houses. Delinquents would be committed to these institutions for residence and supervision, but they would continue to prosecute their employment and enjoy a certain amount of liberty. It would be a means of strengthening the probation system by introducing stricter discipline and a measure of punishment; but it is now buried in the cemetery of forgotten Bills. One can but hope for post-war exhumation.

The Bill also proposed another device for enabling the court to punish without ordering too drastic treatment. Compulsory Attendance Centres were to be established and the court was to be empowered to order a delinquent to attend up to a maximum of sixty hours in a period of six months, for not more than three hours on any day. Attendance must not impinge on hours of employment or schooling, but would be a deprivation of liberty in recreation time. The boy or girl would be given some instruction or useful occupation not in its nature incompatible with recreation, such as physical training or craft work of some kind. There are interesting possibilities, but unless the supervisors are people of great skill and have the right personality the whole thing might be a lamentable farce. With the right supervisor and circumstances valuable work might be done.

When Continuation Schools are in existence the means of dealing with juvenile delinquents in attendance will be simplified. Compulsory attendance would be similar to the ordinary keeping-in which school boys and girls know. If such detention were linked to the activities in which they were already engaged in the school it might have real value and at the same time be much easier to administer.

Under the existing law an obligation lies on Local Authorities to provide, or otherwise arrange for the use of, Remand Homes in which juveniles brought before the court may be detained pending action. There were in existence some excellent Homes of this kind, but the provision is not adequate, and there is great pressure on their space at present. The result is that there has been a reversion to the bad old practice of remanding juvenile offenders to ordinary prisons.*

It is often necessary that a case should be studied by direct observation of the accused, boy or girl, and if they are remanded to such a Home in custody it gives an opportunity for this. The new Bill proposed to extend the power now vested in Local Authorities to the Home Office, so that the Department could establish similar institutions. The particular purpose was to give opportunity for special study of the medical and psychological aspects of appropriate cases. These were to be of two grades: State Remand Homes for the younger delinquent under seventeen, and Remand Centres for those between seventeen and twenty-one.

No one must underestimate the seriousness of juvenile delin-

* *Juvenile Offences*, p. 14.

quency, or the apparent trends to the worse resulting from the conditions produced by war. There is ample scope for improvement of methods and study of causes. Delinquency is of many kinds and springs from many sources. The underlying principle from which all advance must proceed is a belief in the educability of the delinquent in general. If this breaks down in practice it must always be borne in mind that the reason may be, and probably is, faulty treatment.

A not infrequent cause of delinquency was poverty, or at least insufficient cash available for the boy to indulge as much as he wanted in cigarettes or, more frequently, in going to the pictures. There were unemployed lads who regarded it as a mere right to attend two, three or four times a week. Now a different cause has come into operation. A scandal of the war is the ease with which some boys can earn inordinately large wages. This is noticeable in various kinds of engineering, but perhaps it is more flagrant in the building trades. There are lads of sixteen and seventeen engaged as labourers on building construction and debris clearance earning wages up to £6 and £7 a week. Without the wisdom to handle so much money they neither spend wisely nor save. There are cases to-day of lads earning sums of this amount who possess nothing more than their working clothes, sleep in cheap hostels or air-raid shelters, and spend incredible sums on drink, girls and gambling. Such prodigality at best is demoralizing; at worst it leads to courses which end in the courts of justice.*

Delinquency proceeds from maladjustment of the individual to society, and the cause may be wrong moral standards and practice arising from bad family conditions, faulty treatment at school, psychological or even physiological disturbances. A considerable amount of delinquency is concomitant with bad home conditions. Lack of parental control, which itself may be due to many causes, disturbed family relationships, poverty and bad housing are important factors, and one of the prime duties of the probation officer and of the Juvenile Court should be to study this domestic background in order to get to the causes of the trouble. Only after study of these things are right diagnosis and wise treatment possible.

It is hardly necessary to state that naughtiness in the young

* The building industry has recently adopted a wage-for-age scale of wages for boys under eighteen to prevent excessive earnings, and the civil engineering contracting industry has gone some way in the same direction. That Parliament is far from being unanimous on the question is illustrated in Hansard of 20 January, 1942.

proceeds largely from lack of better occupation. Although there do not seem to be any conclusive figures available on the subject there is little doubt that the boy whose energy and enthusiasm are harnessed by membership of an active organization, such as the Scout Movement, a Brigade or a club, is less apt to be a delinquent. It is obvious that the boy who is out camping or playing football at the week-end is less likely than the street-loafing lad to get into mischief. On the other hand it is the boy who is prone to mischief who is less likely to join a recreational organization. As so often those who need something most want it least.

It is in the overcrowded parts of large cities that delinquency is most serious, and it is there that other occupations are least easy to come by. It is also noticeable that delinquency has the highest incidence at the week-end. This only bears out the old truth that it is the idle hands that Satan uses.

We are not concerned at this point with the remedies to be found by giving occupation to those idle hands and an outlet to the restless spirit. Suffice it to say that however serious the position was before the war—and it was serious—it is well to remember that there were 99 per cent. of boys between fourteen and eighteen who were not found guilty of an indictable offence; and that in the case of girls the proportion of delinquents was much smaller, statistically almost negligible.

CHAPTER VII

HEALTH AND WELFARE

THE physical condition of boys and girls is far from what it should and could be, but it has shown a marked improvement. Stature and weight, general health, dental condition have all improved as a result partly of special remedial measures, but mainly of the general advance in social and economic conditions, and education. The doctor, the dentist and the nurse play a most important part, but they can do little if the boy or girl lacks a good house, food, light, air and clothing. This improvement shows itself in the general appearance of youth to-day. The unkempt locks, the ragged clothes, the bare feet and the dirty condition so frequent a generation ago have given place to spruceness, well combed or waved hair, collar and tie, smart

suits and frocks. These may be only superficial signs, but they designate something real: they are a reflection of and a means to self-respect. They spring from a widespread change in outlook and values, but at the same time they are the result of the efforts of enterprising people who have brought within the capacity of limited incomes the possibility of buying all that goes to make these changes possible. Society owes a debt to the manufacturer who has supplied it with these commodities. Doubtless he has been well repaid in profits and in many cases he has given poor value for the money; but were it not for the enterprise of mass-producers of clothes the poorer section of the community would not be dressed as well as it is.

While recognizing the improvement we must not shut our eyes to the immense waste of citizenship and the eventual personal pain and misery which flow from the disease, maldevelopment and poor physical condition too prevalent among adolescents. Apart from better medical attention the problem must be tackled from three directions. The first is a sounder economic basis for the household. Unless there is the money in the family to buy enough good food and to provide the material necessities fundamental to good health the bodies of the rising generation cannot be all they should be. These necessities include housing, fresh air and exercise, as well as food.

Nutrition is one of those basic questions affecting not only youth: it touches the nation as a whole. Partly through ignorance, but mostly through poverty, the nation is seriously undernourished. Sir John Orr has stated the appalling results of his investigations: "The average diet of the poorest group, comprising 4½ million people, is, by the standard adopted, deficient in every constituent examined. The second group, comprising 9 million people, is adequate in protein, fat and carbohydrates, but deficient in all the vitamins and minerals considered. The third group, comprising another 9 million, is deficient in several of the important vitamins and minerals."* That means that half the population is in some degree inadequately nourished and 10 per cent. have not enough of any of the elements essential for satisfactory diet. This deficiency affects the health of all ages, but it may be presumed that the consequences are disproportionately more serious for growing boys and girls.

The British Medical Association, in a study of the subject published some years ago, considered that the average weekly cost

* J. B. Orr, *Food Health and Income*, 1936, p. 49.

of providing sufficient food for a boy of fourteen was 5s. 11d. and for a girl 4s. 11d. In how many homes, especially during the years of economic depression, was such an amount available to feed each of the young members of the household?

It is difficult to assess the net effect on health of the present food shortage. One consequence undoubtedly has been that luxurious eating has been curbed. Rationing, coupled with price control, has doubtless resulted in a more even spread of staple foods over the population as a whole. While the Ministry of Food has apparently been influenced by popular predilections it has taken into consideration the necessity of a scientifically balanced diet. By control of imports it has been in a position to keep off the market foods of less value, so that the weekly purchases tend to be dietetically more useful. There has been a great increase in the national income and at the same time a reduction of many articles and services on which to spend it. Whether this means that the amount of food consumed has increased nationally is not ascertainable, but it would seem to be probable.

Another main factor is education in all those things which go to make a habit of life tending to health. We have begun to teach simple truths such as the desirability of cleanliness and fresh air; but how many boys and girls have even an elementary knowledge of food values? In nine cases out of ten a hungry lad is likely to spend his few available pence on a cup of tea rather than on a glass of milk. Only a few months ago I came across a miner who believed sincerely that during the last war many died of the wholemeal loaf, which he called black bread. When I assured him that for choice I never ate any other sort I am uncertain whether he took me for a fool or a liar. It rests on educationists to do much more by way of instruction in the rudiments of hygiene.

The third aspect of this question is to be found in the conditions in which young wage-earners work. We have glanced at the different forms of legislation controlling juvenile employment. This has ameliorated the lot of the young worker considerably in respect of length of hours of work, conditions, and safeguards against accident. But a lot remains to be done.

It is not possible here to examine in detail the respects in which industrial conditions militate against the well-being of youth. The main reform necessary is a shortening of hours of work, as we have already suggested. There have been notable improve-

ments but they have not gone far enough. The introduction of compulsory attendance at a Continuation School by every adolescent worker in hours of the present working day will improve the situation materially.

There are also certain conditions of work calling for change. For instance it should not be permissible for boys to work underground in mines. Eighteen is early enough to deprive a lad of light and fresh air for his total working hours. It is to our discredit that so many countries should have preceded us in prohibiting the employment of adolescent boys underground in coal mines. In 1936 there were over 47,000 boys under eighteen working below ground, and of these 36 per cent. were under sixteen. Since then the number has been declining.

There are other occupations which, apart from the fact that they lead nowhere except at best to a life of casual unskilled work, or at worst to unemployment, are inimical to healthy development. Some are actually dangerous, such as that of the bicycle messenger who runs serious risks in a city where traffic is heavy. For evidence it is necessary to look no further than the high figures of accidents to pedal cyclists. In the year ending 31st March, 1937, the number of pedal cyclists killed or injured was 71,622. Half of these were under twenty-one. This is at any rate an indication of the danger, and it has to be borne in mind that the bulk of the cycling of a messenger boy is in urban streets, where the incidence of mishaps is greatest, and that frequently he rides an overloaded bicycle difficult to control. The broken hours and irregular feeding involved in many occupations make them unsuitable. How many office boys and girls or young workers get as much fresh air and recreation as healthy growth demands? There are certain occupations obviously unsuitable, such as that of the barber's lather boy, or bar-tending, serving in billiard saloons, fun fairs or dog-tracks where temptations to drink and gamble are greater than a lad should have to meet. It is a good thing for boys to gain physical hardihood but it is another thing to keep them exposed to rain and wind, possibly ill-clad and poorly shod, as is too often the case with the errand or van boy. The trouble in such cases may be primarily the lowness of the wage which prevents him from equipping himself properly to meet inclement weather. For certain kinds of work a legal or traditional obligation rests on an employer to provide protective clothing. This should be extended to all outdoor work by boys and girls under eighteen. And it should include footwear.

More drastic action must be taken to reduce the accident rate for boys in industry generally. The tale of death and injury through industrial accidents as told by the reports of the Factory Inspection Department reveals a serious state of things. Boys are more prone to accident than girls or adults. Rashness is natural to a lad, and it should be regarded as a solemn duty laid on every employer not merely to comply with the safety devices which the law prescribes but to take pains in training the young worker to be careful. It is no defence for the employer to say that he has warned the boy. If the boy is negligent or even disobedient the employer cannot wash his hands of responsibility. He is using boys who are cheap, convenient or even necessary as a means of making money, and there lies on him a heavy obligation to counteract the inherent risks involved in employing that kind of labour. If he finds it convenient or profitable to use irresponsible labour he must himself assume responsibility.

Despite legislation and the united efforts of enlightened elements in industry and of the Factory Inspectorate the accident rate for young workers in 1938 was virtually unchanged from what it was in 1928. The actual number of accidents went up for the year 1940 by 16 per cent. when compared with the previous year; but there has been a considerable increase of young workers in industry and there are no published figures showing whether the accident rate has gone up. The last published figures show that the ratio of accidents to juvenile employees was 2.8 per cent. in 1938. This was the same figure as for 1928, but in 1936 it had reached 3.2 per cent. The salient fact is that in 1940 there were 34,985 accidents to young workers under eighteen—26,492 to boys and 8,493 to girls. These figures cover only the industries within the scope of the Factories Act, and they exclude such large industries as agriculture, railways, coal mining, the merchant navy, retail trade and commerce.

It is not surprising that with the increasing employment of young workers in mechanical processes there is a tendency for the accident rate to rise. It is only to be expected that where a considerable proportion of workers in a shop are young there is apt to be a more careless atmosphere than where experienced adults set the tone. In 1928 the accident rate was 3 per cent. higher for juveniles than for adults; in 1936 it was 13 per cent. higher; but in 1938 the difference had fallen to 7 per cent.

The accident rate for boys in coal mining is alarmingly high. In 1936 the number of juveniles under eighteen employed in

the industry was 70,985, including some 600 girls engaged above ground. The ratio of accidents to the numbers employed was 25 per cent. for underground workers and for surface workers 10 per cent. The accident rate for all juvenile workers employed above and below ground was 20 per cent. It compares most unfavourably with the figure of 3.2 per cent. which in the same year was the rate for all industries under the Factories Act. And, as we state above, that was the peak year, and the rate dropped in 1938 to 2.8 per cent. It is also to be noted that the accident rate is highest in the youngest groups. These figures include deaths and injuries involving disablement for more than three days. The actual number of boys killed was 55, and injured 14,169. The price of coal includes a heavy toll on youth, and it is not surprising that parents are loath to let their boys enter the industry.*

The Home Office was formerly the department responsible through its inspectorate for securing observance of the Factories Acts, but this duty was transferred in 1940 to the Minister of Labour and National Service. The Factory Inspectorate now comes under this Ministry. When Factory legislation began there was no Ministry of Labour, and the Home Office was the department best suited to handle the matter; but it was logical that the Ministry of Labour should take it over. So far it is only a war-time change, but one may presume that it will be stabilized.

H.M. Chief Inspector of Factories in 1938 expressed in no uncertain terms his opinion that employers were not carrying out their duties in regard to the safety of young workers.† It is not that they are brutal or callous, but they are largely indifferent and unimaginative. Employers who appreciate their responsibilities lay stress on preliminary training. It is first a matter of initiating the young worker and explaining to him the dangers with which he is beset. The novice must have forewarning and constant reminder until he has become wisely experienced. One firm recognizes the danger besetting the lad who, after being used to walking a short distance to school, is obliged to cycle some miles maybe to work. It is at pains to reduce the risk by explaining carefully to the new recruit the perils of crowded streets.

Boys and girls do not learn a lesson at the first exposition. There

* See *Royal Commission on Safety in Coal Mines*, Cmd. 5890, H.M.S.O., 1938, p. 414.

† See *Starting Young Workers Safely in Industry*, National Safety First Association, Foreword by Sir Duncan Wilson, H.M. Chief Inspector of Factories.

He also broadcast on 25th Oct. 1938, on the subject. See further Report of H.M. Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, 1937, Cmd. 5802, p. 9 and ch. III.

must be a sustained disciplinary course of training, explaining, reiterating and if necessary punishing. The causes of accident are many: ignorance is the root of it, but fatigue, stupidity, naughtiness, eagerness are all operative factors. It is not enough to argue that if a boy has been warned he has only himself to blame for an accident. No one has the right to put even a foolish or disobedient boy in circumstances where through his own action he loses a limb or his life, and then to ride off on the excuse that it was his fault.

It is not an insoluble question. As Sir Duncan Wilson has said: "There is no reason why an ordinary workroom should not become almost as safe for the new entrant as the classroom which he has just left". Enquiry suggests that the chief single cause of accident is inexperience and lack of knowledge. Training is the most important means of dealing with the problem. The other is a more rigid use of the powers which exist for preventing boys and girls being put on to dangerous machinery.

A number of employers are striving to improve the situation. The Factory Inspectorate, the National Safety First Association (now entitled the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents) and Employers' Associations have co-operated for years to the same end. The coal mining industry has developed a system of training with courses of instruction and with awards to boys who pursue them satisfactorily. Employers and the trade unions have co-operated in an endeavour to make this scheme effective.

Another point worth considering is how far accidents are due to repressed high spirits which bubble over inappropriately, with the result, especially in the case of boys, that they skylark in a physically dangerous environment. For that there is only one effective remedy. You may repress by a rigid disciplinary system, but high spirits will break out. The only way is to provide occasions and facilities in the intervals of work so that boys can let off steam. If there is a chance of doing physical exercises in a gymnasium for fifteen minutes, or for playing a ball game, it will be much less likely that they want to play about in the workshop.

The Factory Inspectorate has become more and more concerned with ensuring the provision of proper conditions of welfare in factories. The powers of the Ministry of Labour have been extended to cope with conditions arising from war-time needs. For example it may require firms of a certain size engaged on Government work to provide can-

teens serving hot meals. A relatively small number of better firms had realized already the value of providing amenities for their workers. Others are adopting this view spontaneously, but pressure from the Inspectorate is used where necessary. Under a special order the Factory Inspectorate can also require the provision of a canteen on the site of building and civil engineering works.

At the present time the Ministry is in a strong position. In order to prevent the loss of labour engaged on essential work vast numbers of workers are being tied to their jobs under one of the several Essential Work Orders made under the Defence Regulations, and only the Ministry of Labour is empowered to permit the worker to leave or the employer to dismiss. The Minister of Labour in tying a worker to his job makes a condition that the employer shall provide proper conditions of welfare. This is not a measure especially to protect the young worker, but he gets his share of the benefit. Even if this does not amount to much in relation to his particular needs it is important that the principle of compulsion should have entered into welfare. It is to be hoped that it will not evaporate after the war.

With the increase in the number of young workers transferred to meet the needs of war industry the question of welfare has taken on new features and proportions. The provision of proper recreational facilities is of the greatest importance if boys and girls find themselves in a strange town or possibly in some remote site without any amenities. The Ministry of Labour has assumed responsibility and it has set up a body of Welfare Officers to supervise conditions of welfare outside the factory. They are concerned with such things as board and lodging, transport, reception of transferred workers and recreation.

So far as adolescents are concerned the responsibility for ensuring satisfactory conditions is shared by the Ministry of Labour with the Board of Education. The help of local Youth Committees is enlisted, and they in turn utilize the services of various juvenile organizations. These can receive grants to meet the cost of providing special amenities, either from a local Education Committee, which is reimbursed up to 50 per cent. by the Board of Education, or from the Board direct.

The best firms have recognized for long the value of special welfare arrangements for young workers. One of the most important is the provision of a good mid-day meal at a reasonable cost. As we have said already, boys and girls are not experts

in dietetics, and even if they bring a parcel of food it is doubtful if they will get enough on their return home to make a staple meal. An admirable venture in Liverpool was the establishment some few years ago of lads' luncheon clubs, which have been primarily cheap restaurants with opportunity for games and other recreation. This scheme has had the double advantage of enabling the working lad to get a good meal and to have an opportunity in his mid-day interval for recreation and-exercise. There is scope for development of this idea in many large cities where the juvenile worker lives too far from his work to get home at mid-day. If a firm is large enough it can provide its own canteen, and as we have seen this may now be made compulsory in certain circumstances; but beyond the question of food is the provision of recreative facilities. A few firms have undertaken this, but it is a rare phenomenon.

A most important contribution to health is the Milk in Industry Scheme. War-time conditions have created difficulties and shortages, but before the war the experiment had proved its success. The basis of the scheme was the provision of milk at a uniform price throughout the year at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ for half a pint or $1d.$ for a third of a pint. It was reported in 1937 that nearly 7,000 factories, employing 2,250,000 workers were using the facilities and that the monthly consumption was 700,000 gallons. Private enterprise has also encouraged milk drinking. For many years milk has been a staple drink in America and Canada, and one of the reasons is the attractiveness and convenience of the milk bar. The growth of these all over this country, even in comparatively small towns, has been remarkable, and it is noticeable how much young people frequent them. Although there is a milk shortage at present there has been an increase in total consumption. There is no available evidence to show how far this means that boys and girls are drinking more, but it is probably safe to assume that there has been no general decline.

An important factor in health is sleep. It is not possible to produce exact evidence to show the amount of sleep which boys and girls get on an average. There are wide differences of habit resulting from a variety of causes. In middle-class homes the tendency is for parents to send the younger members of the family to bed in reasonable time, and the probability is that they have their own rooms to which they can retire. In a crowded house, which is the frequent case for a working boy or girl, the likelihood of a private room is much less. Country folk are in

the habit of going to bed earlier than town-dwellers, mainly because of tradition based on the hours of work, but largely because there is little counter-attraction.

War-time conditions have affected sleep considerably, and in different ways. The first cause was the black-out, which probably resulted on the whole in families staying in more during the evening and going to bed earlier. With the alarms of raiding there grew up the habit in the autumn and winter of 1940-41 of retreating to a shelter for the night. The young would often accompany the elders and get a certain amount of sleep. Doubtless they were less affected by the physical discomfort than adults. But evenings in a shelter were intensely boring and many boys and also girls would rove about, some would frequent public houses and dance-halls, eventually maybe joining their parents or perhaps finding some shelter of their own. When raids were in progress there was inevitable loss of sleep, and even if there were no more than the ever-present threat the loss was serious. Whether or not this loss, which during last winter was certainly extensive, had any markedly deleterious effect is difficult, probably impossible, to prove; but it must have been harmful in some degree. Against this there is the apparently admitted fact that health on the whole was good and epidemics were even below the average incidence. The more impalpable effects of lack of sleep and the emotional and psychological disturbance caused by the conditions of shelter life cannot be assessed yet and never will be measured with accuracy.

The other main cause for insufficient rest is the lateness of the hour at which the working day ends. The worst abuses have been removed by legislation for the majority of young workers,* but there is nothing to prevent the lad over eighteen from being employed at night, and even before the war in certain exceptional conditions boys over sixteen might go on night shift if official sanction were given. Even younger boys can be at work too late. For example, a lift boy or page of fourteen may be at work until 10 p.m., and then have to travel home, and a boy of sixteen may be employed in a restaurant until midnight. Conditions of war are exceptional and it may be conceded that the need is so urgent as to justify the employment of boys to a later hour, but this exception should be applied only to essential war work. It may be right in a munitions works or if a lad is engaged in Civil Defence, but it is quite unjustifiable in restaurants, hotels,

* See p. 48 *supra*. For a fuller statement see *Needs of Youth*, ch. IX.

cinemas and the like. Unfortunately these cases are within the law and statutory reform is urgently necessary.

The Factories Act regulated night work for juvenile workers within its scope. No girl under eighteen or boy under sixteen was permitted to work at night, but there was a possibility of a boy over sixteen being put on night-shift with permission from the Inspectorate. This had been granted most sparingly, but during the first months of the war there was a loosening of practice. With the vital necessity for increased production following the fall of France there was an inevitable and necessary rush which carried young workers in the scramble, and for a while there was a considerable amount of night work done by young workers. The Inspectorate seems to be satisfied that the situation is now under control again.* No permission to work on night shift has been given for any girl under eighteen or boy under sixteen, nor have workers under sixteen been permitted to be employed for more than 48 hours a week.†

The Senior Medical Inspector of Factories has stated that he can "find no evidence that in general the health of the industrial worker has materially suffered".‡ He does not think that night work has had a bad effect on health. He points out that where nights are disturbed by air-raids the night-worker may get greater opportunity for unbroken sleep by day. He had made some special investigation into the effect of night employment on juvenile workers between sixteen and eighteen, and found that the physical standard of the night worker was on the whole higher than that of the day worker. He points out that reasons for this may be that it is the more robust who are selected for night work and are more willing to undertake it. He gives the opinion: "The length of the working shift appears to me to be more important than the mere fact of whether the work is done either at night or by day".§

We have referred to the marked improvement in the personal habits and dress of youth in general, and this is an indisputable fact. Nevertheless there is room for much improvement. There are still numbers of boys and girls who have a crude standard

* *Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories for . . . 1940*, Cmd. 6316, 1941, p. 19.

† A recent Order by the Minister of Labour makes it possible in certain circumstances, if the Inspector of Factories gives consent, to employ boys and girls in the pottery industry up to a maximum of 53 hours a week. (This has now been revoked.)

‡ *Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories for . . . 1940*, Cmd. 6316, p. 22.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

of cleanliness. It is not to be wondered at in view of the squalor of so many homes and the high incidence of poverty. Cleanliness and personal tidiness depend on education, but also on physical circumstances. It is easy to be clean and neat if you can afford to buy one or two changes of clothes, if you have space to keep them in and opportunities for laundering, and if you have easy access to a bathroom. The remarkable fact is that so many boys and girls manage to effect such a clean and tidy appearance in conditions which would seem to make it impossible. At the same time the evacuation of thousands of children from the slums of our cities and their removal to suburban and rural areas gave a shock to our complacency which was by no means harmful. Many respectable folk were astounded to see the poor condition of health and clothing, the dirtiness and the crude habits of children brought into their midst. When we come to rebuild England this first-hand evidence of what slums produce may have converted some who regarded slum-clearance and rehousing as an expensive fad. If children are in such a condition it is no matter for surprise if some of the consequences persist in adolescence. The school services, not only through the teacher, but with the aid of the medical and dental departments, have made a great contribution, but they cannot counteract bad home conditions wholly. It is therefore not surprising, although it is certainly shocking, to learn that, of the boys and girls between fourteen and sixteen who were rejected for employment in the year 1939 as being unfit on medical grounds, 2,233, that is 39 per cent. of those rejected, were verminous.

One of the main gaps in our care of youth was the hiatus in medical care after the boy and girl left school. A rapidly improving school medical service had produced valuable results among children. At fourteen the great bulk of them left school and until shortly before the war they were in nobody's charge. Parents through ignorance and poverty were often neglectful, and the child did not worry. If serious illness befell him he was put in hospital, if a tooth ached too acutely he had it pulled out for a small fee. Only at eighteen did he come within the benefits of the health insurance system.

In 1937 the position was improved by the National Health Insurance (Juvenile Contributors and Young Persons) Act. The payment of insurance contributions now starts at the age of fourteen, and any boy or girl who has left school is eligible for the services of a panel doctor. Sickness benefit begins at sixteen,

Full benefit is payable only if 104 contributions have been paid, but 26 contributions give a title to limited benefits. This does not fill the gap satisfactorily, but it is a long step in the right direction.

In particular the system makes no provision for preventive medicine to play its important part at this stage of development. This is a need which is met only to a small extent in any social group or at any age, so that it cannot be said that youth is worse off than other sections of the community, except the school child who has the benefit of occasional routine clinical examinations. It is extremely important however that adolescents should have regular clinical examination. They are undergoing new stresses, and latent weaknesses are apt to show early symptoms at this age. Remedial treatment is more likely to be successful if it is applied in the early stages of disease than later, and there are probably few ways in which such spectacular improvement in the health of the nation could be effected as by routine clinical examination and treatment of adolescents.

There is a system of medical inspection under the Factories Act, 1937, for the purpose of ensuring that adolescents under sixteen are not employed unless they are physically fit. It applies only to those occupations coming within the scope of the Act, it involves only one initial examination and it ignores those over sixteen. Clearly this is inadequate on every score.

The position was much improved by the Factories (Medical and Welfare Services) Order made by the Ministry of Labour in July 1940. Under this the Factories Inspectorate may direct any firm engaged on government work to appoint a medical officer and nurses to supervise the health of the employees. This makes compulsory what some of the best employers had instituted already. It remains to be seen whether the same compulsion will be continued when industry reverts to private business.

A few voluntary clubs have made provision for examination, usually through the goodwill of a friendly doctor who is willing to help without reward. Sometimes treatment also is provided. The most interesting experiment in this field was the Peckham Health Centre, a social centre founded on two principles. The first was group membership by the family as a whole, and the second was regular clinical examination of every member. It was housed in a fine building erected for the purpose, now unfortunately not in use. Although it might be open to criticism in some respects the Centre was doing most valuable work.

Slight opportunities have been taken in a few other directions. Boys and girls attending Junior Instruction Centres could have the benefit of medical examination. Generally there is some such scheme operating in a residential hostel.

Many of the troubles of adolescence spring from psychological maladjustments, and in an adequate medical service for youth the psychiatrist must bear a part. At present it is rare for a youth to receive skilled attention of the sort until he has been caught in delinquency.

It is to be presumed that the school medical service will be extended to cover the Day Continuation School. Anything else would be less than logical. When that is done, and if the whole school medical service is strengthened, there will be opportunity for doing something real for the improvement of the health of the young.

If anyone doubts the possibilities of improving the physical well-being of youth by providing better conditions of life he should study the recorded facts. Two examples will suffice. The first is a comparison which was made of samples of boys of seventeen. Those at Christ's Hospital School were on average 3.8 inches taller than working boys.* Mr. Rowntree's recent survey of York† reveals that the average weight of boys fourteen to sixteen years old in Secondary Schools is 10.9 lb. more than that of boys of the same age in the poorest groups. The corresponding figure for girls is 15½ lb. He also found that if the weights of school children five to fourteen years of age in the poorest groups are examined after the interval between 1899 and 1936 there has been an average increase of 4.8 lb. for boys and 5½ lb. for girls.

CHAPTER VIII

RECREATION

We have seen that 87 per cent. of boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen are actual or potential workers. Between sixteen and eighteen the figure is 96 per cent. Most of them are engaged in work of some kind, but of very few can it be said that work is the means by which they express the energy and hope and ambition and powers which constitute their being. The same

* J. B. Orr, *op. cit.* p. 39

† S. B. Rowntree, *Poverty and Progress*, pp. 300, 302

is true of the vast bulk of the millions of men and women who do the world's work. Yet it is the expression of those elements in life which is life. If there were no other means we should be mere industrial automata. Such is the state of things in our modern mechanical world that for most of us the only way to find life is to seek it in the time that remains over after we have left the bench, the counter or the office stool. There are the few whose life coincides with their work: those fortunate ones who find there a medium of fullest expression, like the artist, the creative craftsman, the farmer; or those unfortunate ones whose whole energy is used up in their work, like the benumbed drudge or the monomaniac money-maker.

The rest of us look on our work merely as the way in which we can win the means of realizing our desires and exercising our faculties. We need first the obvious staples of subsistence—food, shelter, clothing. Beyond these are the thousand and one varieties of satisfaction we seek. These desires are in great measure subject to fashion, and fashion can be created by propaganda. The huge machinery of advertisement is directed to persuading people to want certain things so much that they will spend money on them. Large rewards go to those who are able to foresee what are the public desires which can most readily and profitably be excited. Sometimes publicity will create an artificial desire which is satisfied for a while most profitably to the exploiter.

We all want to gratify our different tastes and most of us beyond a craving for material things have some desire for amusement and pastimes which in the hours of recreation serve to round out our lives. It is significant of our times that amusement has been simultaneously extended in quantity and restricted in range. A few main kinds of amusement hold the field. It was estimated before the war that the annual sum paid by the cinema-going public was £41,000,000 for nearly 1,000 million purchased seats. This vast industry has grown up in a generation and the passion for the screen grips almost the whole nation. The nation is also prepared to spend yearly on gambling in some form or other a sum computed variously as 350 to 500 million pounds. Another very popular form of amusement is watching football. In the season 1936-7 some 50 million seats for matches were bought at a total cost of £2,500,000.

In these popular kinds of amusement there are two important factors. In the first place they are not creative: they are a form

of passive, or at least uncreative amusement. And they are all procured by money payments. They are emotional stimulants or soporifics. In most of them the element of thrill is important. In the cinema and football you need only be a spectator: you have to do nothing. The same thing is true in large measure of other popular forms of amusement such as listening to, or, as is often the case, merely undergoing, the wireless broadcast; also of a large part of reading. There is no intrinsic harm in passive amusement; but there is a loss if our recreation has no element of active expression. Reading, listening to music or watching a play critically may be a strenuous intellectual æsthetic exercise. But to what extent are these things enjoyed critically? We have become to a dangerous extent a people content in our recreation to be passive recipients or spectators. This is the more serious as the tendency coincides with the mechanization of work which has reduced the daily task from an expressive craft to a repetitive process the end of which is largely hidden from the worker.

The question of recreation is not merely only a problem of youth, but it presents itself in a particularly acute form in relation to the adolescent. Boys and girls developing into maturity are bound to be affected by the influences of the amusements which play so large a part in their lives. In village life there is less provision of these commercially exploited kinds of recreation, but for the boy and girl in cities and towns, who form a considerable proportion of the whole number, there is a constant following of the cinema, gambling and dog-racing. Gambling is doubtless more prevalent in the town, but it is not necessarily limited to it.

The cinema is the strongest lure, which at times develops an insatiable thirst. There are boys, even those who were unemployed, who would regard it as a right to go to a film three or even four times a week. So much so that not infrequently there have been cases of stealing cash to obtain the money necessary to pay for it. There is no flagrant harm in the cinema, but it is to a large extent a negative pastime. There is a seriously harmful effect when it becomes an obsession. Moreover it presents in the main a world of unreality and false glamour. Youth can pass into a world of romance and out of it unscathed. But it cannot fail to have an effect in time if the young are steeped in this world of wrong values, where virtue may be given feeble applause but where the objects of admiration are the ruthlessly strong,

and the stupendously rich. To see night after night the desired exhibitions of false emotion, whether it be the thrills of sensationalism or the sugary sweetness of sentimentalism, plastered with vulgar wealth and spiced with eroticism, cannot be the best school for learning the worth and meaning of life. A main function of art is to enable ordinary folk to see and to feel life more steadily and more wholly, in a way that they cannot without the interpretative aid which the deeper perspicacity and more vividly creative imagination of the artist give. The cinema may be a medium of art, and to some extent it is already, especially in its comic mood; but for the most part it gives us not art but a show.

To a large extent the same thing can be said of the reading matter of youth. There are many young readers who have discovered the pleasure of real literature. It is said that an increasing number are reading for instruction and for pleasure books of information and works of literary art, but they are still a small minority. Vast quantities of utter trash, akin to the cinema in its appeal and its values, keep the youthful imagination in thrall. Again there is for the most part no harm in this stuff, but it becomes a danger when it is the only literary pabulum for which youth has any appetite. The Exploits of Sexton Blake, the Daring Deeds of Blackgang Bill, or the luscious story of Pretty Peggy the Typist who has only put one foot into the Wicked Man's room when Faithful Fred rescues her from a Fate Worse than Death: they may be harmless as occasional cocktails, but they are a poor beverage. Yet that is the kind of stuff that sells to the extent of millions of copies weekly.

Naturally there is a difference between the recreations of youth and of maturity; but in adolescence are created habits, tastes and values of life which will last even though they change their form with growth. Recreation is as much within the field of education as any other human activity. Moreover recreational pastimes in adolescence may be a means of wider educational purpose. Crafts and athletics for instance are more than a pleasant and useful end in themselves: they are a means of developing capacities that endure. We have recognized this in a certain degree. Some schools have made games, handwork, music and drawing compulsory, and incidentally have succeeded in creating a deep loathing of these pursuits in certain boys and girls. Drama having returned more recently to the fold of a respectable school time-table, in which it held an honoured position four hundred

years ago, is more genuinely optional, and consequently the enthusiasm of its participants is unblunted by indiscriminating compulsion.

Team games have great value in social education, but they are not the only medium and they should not crowd out the more individualistic types of exercise. There are scores of ways in which the body, and at the same time moral qualities, may be developed. On a foundation of physical training, in its modern form, can be built a system which in one way or another catches the enthusiasm of the boy and girl. The secret of enthusiasm is to find an outlet for capacity. And as human capacity is infinitely diverse, so the opportunities for physical exercise should be as varied as possible. Walking, running, jumping, boxing, wrestling, ski-ing, skating, cycling, riding, rowing, sailing, climbing, camping; football, cricket, baseball, hockey, netball, lacrosse, tennis, golf—they are all valuable media of development and therefore of education. And they do not exhaust the list of possibilities. Such hard physical crafts as agriculture, forestry and building have their place. A visit to certain Borstal Institutions before the war showed the abounding physical fitness which can come to lads working as navvies on land reclamation. One point to watch is the danger of unbalanced physical development; but a wise variation and combination of activities, together with a foundation of physical training in the more limited sense, will preserve this balance and give general flexibility and agility of body.

But all this discussion of desiderata is largely academic, seeing that only a minority of boys and girls take part in any form of regular physical training or organized athletic activity. Relatively few schools have playing fields or properly organized games, and consequently athletic skill is not developed early. Much has been done by enthusiastic teachers in most difficult circumstances and the situation has improved considerably. For the adolescent there has been an increasing attempt made by youth organizations, such as Scouts, Guides, Brigades and clubs. The Playing Fields Association and certain Local Authorities have made a real contribution by providing facilities. The National Fitness Council had begun to make grants for playing fields and the Commissioners for the Special Areas had assisted with grants where their writ ran. But when all is said it makes a poor enough showing.

The outdoor game which boys want most and get most is football. Every secondary schoolboy gets his chance, most boys'

clubs try to organize games, and before the war there was a considerable amount done to give opportunity to boys belonging to no other organization. The real difficulty was the provision of playing fields, and as we have said there were a number of agencies at work to this end. But much more might have been done at a comparatively small cost. For example Newcastle upon Tyne is a city with a magnificent asset in its vast Town Moor, but its exploitation for the benefit of the thousands of boys teeming within reach was on a relatively small scale. Liverpool Boys' Clubs had a fine co-operative scheme for the provision of playing fields, but it was hampered by financial stringency. In London certain open spaces such as Hackney Marshes are used, but the provision is quite inadequate. In Leeds junior football was highly organized, but the demand for pitches so much exceeded the supply that boys were playing on black ash. Even in villages where there can be no dearth of land it is not infrequent that lads have no field. The Football Association before the war was devoting energy and funds to encouraging the game among boys through its County Minor Football Associations. There were forty-four of these including over 2,100 clubs.

One deterrent is that organized football can be played rarely by working boys except on Saturday afternoons. If a lad has his half-holiday on any other day it is most unlikely that he will get a chance of a game. The day when most are free is Sunday and in a great majority of places sabbatarian feeling prevents him from using a public pitch on that day. It seems hard that town councillors on Sunday should enjoy their own game of golf and go for a drive into the country for relaxation and fresh air, but vote against the use of public playing fields on the day when youth is freest. It seems also a little illogical. What is a fact is that for the vast majority of lads the actual alternative is not worship but loafing, a pastime at best vacuously harmless, and sometimes mischievous. No other game makes so great an appeal to boys as football, and if we took the matter seriously it would be possible, for a cost small in relation to its return in recreative value, to put weekly on a football field hundreds of thousands of boys.

Cricket is played to a lesser extent, and it is only in the North of England, where there is a strong tradition, that it reaches any high degree of popularity among working lads. It lacks the continuous outlet for energy and the sustained excitement which a boy wants.

The most popular after football are certain indoor games.

Table tennis is played largely. Almost every boys' club has at least one table and a high degree of proficiency is often reached. Darts is ubiquitous. This ancient game has been kept alive in the public house and of late years it has spread throughout the land, gripping all ages and both sexes in its appeal. The other game in the forefront of popularity is billiards. Many clubs have tables even if they are undersized and sometimes in rather sorry state. Some boys' clubs do not favour it as it is feared that it will develop a habit leading finally to resort to the public billiard saloon with all its attendant evils. There is some force in the argument and it cannot be denied that billiard saloons are a snare for many boys and lead them to betting. There is however probably stronger weight in the argument that if a club discourages billiards the keen lad will go to the saloon, and that it is better to have him playing in the conditions which a club ensures.

Clubs have introduced netball where they have the facilities, but often they lack the gymnasium or large hall necessary. The game came from Canada where it is called basket-ball. It was devised to provide strenuous exercise indoors during the winter months when the ground is snowbound. In this country it has been largely a girls' outdoor game, but boys are taking it up.

The popular American baseball, which derives from the old game of rounders, is not played much in this country. It has the advantage of needing only simple equipment and no elaborate pitch. It also has the intensity which boys like. London County Council schools were developing it on a considerable scale and it ought to be encouraged. Attempts have been made to acclimatize it as a professional sport, apparently with the purpose of extending the pools business beyond the football season, but so far without success.

Tennis is not played much by working boys. It is mainly a middle-class game for obvious economic reasons. Girls' organizations have developed it to a small extent. The other games which girls play most are netball and hockey, but speaking generally there is little organized sport for girls.

Another most popular form of sport with boys is boxing. The majority of boys' clubs encourage it, and this is not difficult as it requires little space and no elaborate gear, and an instructor is not hard to find. A number of boys dream of entering the ring and there are boxing clubs promoted only for the purpose of discovering, training and exploiting young talent. This is a

very different matter from the encouragement of boxing in boys' clubs as an amateur sport.

The Scout movement has been particularly inventive of athletic games. Physical training generally employs this device considerably as a means of enlivening the routine of set exercises and movements, and developing agility of action, alertness of mind and quickness of decision. These imaginative methods have done more than anything to popularize what used to be a dull and disliked affair when the drill sergeant could think of little beyond the eternal evolutions of the barrack square. The result has shown itself in the great demand for physical training courses by the young. In 1938 the number taking physical training in evening institutes and colleges was over 322,000, which represented an increase of 34 per cent. over the previous year. This is a total figure for all ages, but the large majority must have been youthful.

The case of swimming is worth examining as it throws light on the reasons why an athletic exercise may become popular and what methods can be used for its encouragement. In recent years it has grown to a large extent, and causes are clear. In the first place it is taught widely in schools and so boys and girls have the early initiation which is so important. The means are there because it has become recognized that Local Authorities should provide swimming-baths, although it still takes a deal of persuasion to induce Local Authorities to give similar facilities for other forms of athletic exercise.

There are two main reasons why swimming led the way. In the first place it had an obvious utilitarian purpose which was visible even to the dullest: it was a means to life-saving. We are practical people, fortunately, but sometimes unfortunately. Our lack of imagination necessitates a clear definition of advantage before we are willing to spend money on a project; but when we do see that it is worth while we do it pretty well. The other reason is that there has been a well organized system through the Royal Life Saving Society which gives certificates on a graded plan. The lowest level demands no more proficiency than the average boy and girl can reach, but there is a series of further awards which draw on the more enthusiastic to higher attainments. In 1938 boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen won over 65,000 certificates. Of these about two-thirds were awarded to boys. The principle is sound and the example serves to strengthen the arguments in favour of the County

Badge which is designed to embrace all forms of athletic prowess.

A great deal has been said and written lately about the County Badge Scheme.* Mr. Kurt Hahn, at his school which was in Morayshire, inaugurated for that county a scheme aimed at encouraging youth to compete for a badge which marked a certain degree of all-round physical proficiency. The standard was set so that it could be not only won by record-breakers but attained by the average lad. The scheme embraced various kinds of physical achievement of a simple kind—to run, jump, throw, wrestle, walk, climb. It moved upward to the accomplishment of feats of moderate endurance and of co-operative enterprise in mountaineering and seafaring which involved elements of risk and demanded care and accuracy of performance.

The great value of the enterprise is that it gives purpose to physical achievement. There was a time, not long ago, when we were told by elaborate publicity that Fitness Wins. A question never answered was Wins What? There must be a further motive to catch enthusiasm of youth for physical development. Some will have the poor aim of developing muscle for its own sake. Some will want it for the sake of grace and beauty, fewer will want it as a means to health. There is also a stimulus in the desire to make progress in achievement and to better one's own performance. An enthusiastic athlete will want fitness for his game's sake. To-day we see an urgent motive in the desire to be physically fit for national service of some kind. The purpose of a game may be the fun of competitive struggle, or it may be mere pot-hunting. Cycling or walking are means of getting into pleasant surroundings or to desired goals, and as enterprises they are enriched by the reward of an objective attained in their mere accomplishment. So the mountain climber or the seafarer finds the purpose and reward of his achievement. A spice of danger adds piquancy, and it is right that youth should know how to live dangerously within limits. There is a world of difference between the danger of prowess and the risk of foolhardiness. Danger is an eternal element in all human achievement and there is no more deadly doctrine than Safety First. Safety should be a constant aim, but accomplishment must be the first. Experience gives the wisdom which reconciles them when they are in conflict. It may be said that as a nation we awoke only just in time, but too late at that, to the necessity of taking risks. Had we nearly become anesthetized by the oft-

* For a full account see *The County Badge or the Fourfold Achievement*, 1941.

preached doctrine of Safety First until rude circumstance aroused us from our national torpor? We should not have lived through our greatest hour in the spirit of Safety First. If we have learned our lesson we should never again forget that in educating youth we must teach it to live wisely but dangerously. We must not inculcate the debilitating belief that safety is more important than a full life. If education is to fit youth for ample manhood and womanhood it must include among its aims fitness to face danger with care and resolution and pluck. No medium is better for this teaching than physical enterprise.

The extension of education through the Day Continuation School will bring into the system over a million boys and girls the majority of whom are occupied mainly in earning their living. If education is to accept, as it must, the responsibility of training in leisure pursuits, it should recognize fashions and tastes as they exist, and it must remember that these boys and girls have inherited a tradition of scarcely trammelled freedom to choose their own forms of recreation including the most popular, which is loafing. It will be impolitic to ignore that tradition and to attempt immediately to force taste into a new mould. It would be even worse to fail to direct it eventually to better ends and to shape it into finer forms. Fortunately youth is malleable and receptive of wise influence.

The curriculum of the Continuation School will have an element of academic study, but it must be framed on a realization that many of its inmates will burgeon most richly by being given an opportunity for practical expression. If it is planned wisely it will give the boy and girl the means of discovering and developing those talents which can be exercised not only in school hours but in hours of leisure through a recreative pastime. If, as we shall suggest later, the Continuation School is linked with a Youth Centre, which in its turn provides club activities and opportunities for membership of one of the several juvenile organizations, the connection between the formal curriculum and recreational activities will be close. But such a scheme can be successful only in so far as it recognizes the variety of taste and desire and talent which youth should display, and gives amplitude of choice and full opportunity for individual expression.

It need not be feared that educational discipline is incompatible with pleasurable activity. Discipline is essential, but there is no intrinsic educational value in avoiding what is interesting and

pleasant. It is a necessary lesson of life to learn that much work is inevitable drudgery, and that accurate application even to dull performance is a human duty. This does not mean that work ought to be dull for the good of our souls, but for the good of our souls and for the common weal we should be prepared to slog at the inescapably dull chores which must be done, until human ingenuity can find a better way of accomplishing the task or make it unnecessary. Beyond that we should fashion our educational system and shape its curricula so that they evoke the utmost pleasure possible. Dullness depends partly on the nature of work, but largely on the subjective approach. The boy who girds at some imposed repetitive job will spend hours of rapt application in whittling away at a block of wood until from it he has created the boat his imagination saw in the shapeless mass. The girl who grows weary of her daily task will devote almost unlimited labour to knitting herself a jumper. Stories are told of boys in the Air Training Corps begging for tuition on Sunday in mathematics to fit them for this new purpose that has gripped their enthusiasm. A few years ago lads in Junior Instruction Centres who lapsed into intellectual sulks during the miserable hour for arithmetic, would struggle anxiously to acquire enough skill in calculation to make a model aeroplane or to pursue some other hobby involving the elements of mathematics.

Already juvenile organizations have paid considerable attention to cultivating interest and skill in handicrafts, but a wider extension is possible and certainly desirable. We have already emphasized the necessity of giving scope through recreational activities to the desire to make something. It must be the making that sees the end from the beginning and realizes the complete result. That is very different from a repetitive action which is one item in a complex and composite process, the kind of action which thousands perform to-day in highly organized manufacture. Boys and girls have different tastes, but the majority want to make something with their hands.

Clubs have done their best to supply the opportunity, but their resources are usually limited in respect of space, equipment, material or instruction. Here is a field deserving, nay demanding, the attention of Youth Committees. It is one of the ways in which an Education Committee can do a great deal by making a modest contribution of help to a voluntary organization, and especially by providing an instructor. It is also a side of the

curriculum of the Day Continuation School to which careful attention must be paid. There is a considerable body of experience on which to draw. Much could be learned by attentive study of what certain Junior Instruction Centres achieved in this respect.

There are many forms of handicraft. On the whole boys will turn to heavier media such as metal and wood, and they will want to make models of various kinds, varying no doubt with the craze of the moment or of a particular group. Aeroplanes are likely to hold the field for a long while, but yachts, galleons, railway stock all have their appeal. The crux of the matter is to have an instructor who is an enthusiast and who knows his job. After that there is little doubt that the boys will be keen. Girls turn most easily to knitting, which has an advantage over all boys' hobbies in that it is not merely fun to knit but it combines economy with a laudable satisfaction of vanity. Even before the war gave knitting such a powerful stimulus it was the most widely practised of all amateur handicrafts. It has the merit of being easy enough for the least skilful and of giving scope for the expert who aspires to the most elaborate designs.

There is a great variety of crafts which can be practised by boys and girls, and many schools and clubs have used much ingenuity in exploiting them. Wood and linoleum cutting as a means of pictorial reproduction, printing, basketry, dress-making, embroidery and other forms of needlework, appeal to different types. There are the enthusiasts who will work patiently at a craft until they have acquired considerable skill; while others, more impatient and unstable, do not rise above simple processes and never stick at anything long enough to master a process demanding any high degree of skill. For them there are handicrafts like fret-carving, gesso, beadwork, flower making, paper cutting, some of them productive of rather dreadful creations, but serving a purpose not to be scorned.

For girls with application and imagination there is nothing better than the various kinds of housecraft. Where good equipment and instruction are available girls will become excellent cooks. Relatively few clubs have the facilities, but it is a most important activity to which doubtless Continuation Schools will pay considerable attention. Not enough has been done to introduce cooking as an activity for boys, but some successful experiments have been made in Evening Institutes. To break down the prejudice against what might be regarded as a girlish

affair it would be necessary to give it point, for instance as a means to better camping. Scouts lay stress on boys learning to cook, but there does not appear to be an attempt to rise above the elements of the art. Incidentally it is possible in cookery to introduce instruction in food values. Ignorance regarding food values leads to much unwise spending and poor diet, and it is prevalent in all classes. A wider knowledge of simple dietetics would make a real contribution to the health of the nation, while benefiting its pocket.

For girls the crown of domestic skill is mothercraft. We shall refer later to those clubs which run junior sections for small children so that the older members shall have opportunity for tending them. In some Junior Instruction Centres there were departments for girls who wished to learn child-nursing. The raw material was supplied by mothers who wanted their babies cared for while they were at work and were glad to deposit them for the day in the Centre for a modest fee. There is no possibility for this kind of arrangement in girls' clubs, as they are open only in the evening; but it should be practicable to develop the idea in connection with Day Continuation Schools.

Perhaps the most satisfying of all craft hobbies is building. Not much has been done in this line, but enough to show its possibilities and its value. The weakness of so many hobbies is that their results are too often feeble and rather useless. Where building has been inspired by an enthusiastic leader the results have sometimes been remarkable. But the leader must be really skilled, and slipshod work must not be tolerated. Therein lies one of the great values of the work. It is a discipline. If the lazy boy makes a wobbling stool it is soon discarded and forgotten, but if your roof leaks and the door flies open there is a lasting monument of rebuke. On the other hand good work is an enduring record of successful co-operation and unselfish devotion to the common advantage. A Scout troop that has erected its own hut, the club that has built or reconstructed its premises, or the Rover crew which has made its own swimming pool, has a tangible expression of its *esprit de corps*, and the daily speech of bricks and boards and tight walls will help to keep that spirit true.

It is a mistake to think that even elaborate works of construction are beyond the skill of boys if they are inspired and well directed. There is that outstanding example of the colony of buildings constructed by the inmates of the Borstal Institution

at Lowdham Grange in Nottinghamshire, where the lads did everything. There are large steel frame buildings and smaller brick houses. The boys were erectors, bricklayers, joiners, tilers, electricians, plumbers, heating engineers: the only skilled men were the instructors. On a smaller, but not inconsiderable, scale members of the Youth Hostels Association have carried out building work, most notably at Bloody Bridge in County Down where they constructed a fair-sized hostel. There is immense educational value in building and it is to be hoped that it will be exploited after the war to the utmost as a hobby and as part of the Day Continuation School curriculum. Materials will then be available once more and there should be scope for building as never before. Moreover it is to be hoped that the building trade will be so fully occupied that trade unions will not be afraid of competition. One looks forward to a great development of camping and country holidays. There will be a vast superfluity of military and other camps all over the country and there should be ample scope for boys to alter and adapt these, or even to transplant them as may be necessary. Nor need the girls be kept out of it. Already before the war Guides were embarking on building, and the war is showing that there is a place for women in a number of operations in the building industry.

Another class of craft hobby which could be developed is work on the land. There may be practical difficulties in normal times in putting the young into agricultural pursuits as a recreation, but there is some scope there. The majority of boys and some girls like a country occupation, at any rate as a relaxation, although there are the lazier ones who would not submit to the hard work. Animals are a general attraction, and most boys would enjoy handling the machines which play so much larger a part in farming than ever before. Horticulture would be easier to arrange, but it does not seem to attract more than a small proportion. Perhaps its returns are too slow and its results not apparent enough to the average youthful imagination. In war-time, when the need for home production of food is so obvious, the situation is different. More might be done in forestry and land reclamation, especially if it were combined, as it often would be, with a camping life in wild country. A certain amount of work in forestry has been organized during war-time for university students and older boys, and girls also have taken their share.

One important means of civilization is the power to think and to express thought. The vehicles of this expression are speech and writing. All systems of education are built on this foundation, and no curriculum of Continuation Schools can be complete unless it gives a prominent place to developing these arts. Hence the importance of what is known crudely as English—the learning how to speak, to write and to read our own language, which is our particular vehicle of thought.

Although English should be a mainstay of the school curriculum these arts can be cultivated as hobbies, and many clubs do so with a certain degree of success. The debating society and discussion circle are means of training the young to develop their ideas, to think and to put their thoughts into words. There is a limited value in the more formal kind of debate which is apt to give opportunity only to a vocal minority. Moreover the themes chosen for debate tend to be too abstract, too remote from life and from thoughts within the average experience of the young. It is true that boys and girls of intelligence take a remarkable interest in the larger questions of the day, but if all are to be brought in it is well to choose topics which are germane to their personal experience and knowledge. If a Youth Parliament plays at governing the world or the country it will probably talk a lot of nonsense. That is not wholly true or necessarily bad. But if it debates the affairs of its own small community, of the club or the school it may express a great deal of sound sense and make a valuable essay in self-government. In the various conferences and schools of youth leadership held for older boys and girls there have been remarkable examples of discussion carried on eloquently and intelligently. Speakers have shown themselves to be full of ideas, some crude maybe, but many of real insight and value.

In most youth groups there is more likelihood of getting good expression if the setting is not too formal. Everybody is made self-conscious by the formality of a set debate or public meeting; but if a sympathetic and skilful leader can get young people sitting round a fire at ease, discussion may be eager and of real quality.

The art of writing is not as necessary as the art of composition in the spoken word, but it is none the less of great importance. The formal essay is generally a jejune affair and boring to most young essayists. But to learn to keep club records, to frame club instructions, to compose a play, to compile a school magazine, to maintain correspondence with other clubs—in a Dominion

perhaps—are all exercises in written composition. Admittedly it is extremely difficult to interest the majority of boys and girls in writing, and few teachers can do it. The reason why it is generally so dull is that composition is nearly always an apparently purposeless task. As in everything that the young need to learn, make the exercise a means of achieving a purpose that they want and success is sure.

The same thing is true of reading. Real reading is an active process: it is the extraction from the written word of the thought which has been embodied in it. The process is of all degrees of difficulty, and the pleasures which it gives depend on what the reader can bring to meet the writer. A wise teacher knows that the power of appreciation needs careful training, and that the highest jumper begins with a low fence. Reading is a habit, and it may be a bad habit or a good. We have seen the kind of rubbish which finds vast consumption by youth. Why? Because the writers of this trash know how to catch the attention of the young. It does not follow that it is the only kind of reading that boys and girls want; but it is cheap, easily accessible and handy. Moreover it is for the most the only kind of reading which they know about. If there were nothing but sweetshops we should tend to eat only lollipops; but that does not mean that our hunger would be really satisfied.

The more that reading can be made a hobby the more likely will it be that a good reading habit is inculcated. Make it a mere lesson and you will probably kill it. The first necessity is a good library. But it must be a collection of books which interest boys and girls, not, as is too often the case in a club, the repository for relics which unimaginative benevolence unloads in what it calls a good cause. Better no library than a literary morgue. Give them the right kind of book and boys and girls will soon develop a healthy appetite for staple diet. School libraries are improving steadily and we must hope for a liberal policy for the Continuation Schools. Many public libraries take seriously the needs and tastes of younger readers. It appears that although reading has increased considerably among school children there is still a falling off in the adolescent period. This is only to be expected. It is one more inevitable result of withdrawing the constraining, guiding hand too early. Continuation Schools should make a marked difference. Clubs do what they can, but their resources both of books and of skilled guidance are usually scanty.

Many boys and girls who have developed no literary taste by the age of about fourteen will suddenly show enthusiasm for reading in their middle or later teens. The inspiration of a keen adult or capture of the imagination by a single book may be the turning point; but how many boys and girls who leave school at fourteen are likely to meet the lucky chance? There is great scope for guidance by the right leader who himself knows and loves real books and can impart his enthusiasm.

In late years drama has again become a popular activity as it was four hundred years ago. The dramatic renaissance in the past twenty-five years has been essentially popular. Drama clubs and groups have sprung up by the hundred, and the movement has spread through every class. Local and national competitions have acted as a spur. Voluntary organizations of various kinds and schools have developed it with enthusiasm and the standard of achievement has been remarkable. Choice of play, acting and production have all shown a great advance. One of the most serious obstacles has been lack of the right type of play, to which is added the difficulty of copyright.

If drama is to fulfil its end it must be conceived and staged honestly. The actors must be able to be the parts they play. What chance have members of a group of working boys or girls of rendering faithfully a play depicting middle-class manners or a Mayfair drawing-room comedy? They need something elemental in which the common passions burst through social upholstery and the stuff of the play is the stuff of human nature, and man's simple hopes and fears, his tears and his laughter are the weft and the warp of the dramatist's pattern. There are suitable plays, but they are scarce. The prime consideration is to have simple humanity. A poetic play, a drama of ordinary folk whose lives boys and girls know from experience, or a play built on a familiar story, such as Biblical narrative, are within their imaginative range. There is no need to aim low. The greatest drama may have these qualities, and that is why Shakespeare is so suitable.

We make reference elsewhere to the value of drama as a form of expression. It embraces so many elements—speech, movement, rhythm, music, song, dance, painting, not to mention the ancillary crafts of the joiner, the electrician, the needlewoman. So many can find a place in the production, from the protagonist to the programme seller. In this way it provides opportunity for team work by those with every kind and degree of talent, and it

requires both boys and girls. No art form gives as great an opportunity for team-work with all the value which this implies.

Another form of recreation which merits far more attention is music, including song. Like drama this was once an art of the people, but it dwindled and almost died. There is plenty of latent talent among boys and girls which can be evoked by skilful leadership. Music and singing have the advantage of giving scope to individual talent and to organized team-work in choirs and bands. Like other art forms popular music and singing have been degraded. The majority of people, including the young, are familiar chiefly with the meretricious music and emasculated song which the dance band and the sound-track purvey in their flashy way. The uproar of jazz or the mawkish lilt of a negroid swing are the musical analogues of the tumultuous sensationalism and the cloying sentimentalism of the screen. They excite and they lull, and for lack of richer experience youth likes the feel of these false emotions. Most of them have no alternative chance. It is true that broadcasting has done a great deal to improve musical taste, but it plays down to the common taste to a considerable degree. It is obliged to do so. Its duty is to assist in cultivating taste, but also to supply what undoubtedly millions want.

The task of improving taste, of teaching the power of appreciation and eventually creating a demand for real music is essentially educational. It lies with the schools primarily. Clubs and other juvenile organizations can do a lot, and to some degree they are alive to their duty and their chance, but not to any great extent. Music and song may be developed as hobbies, but they must be taught and learned. It is not enough to leave them to the accident of circumstance, to the chance of an old piano, or the occasional stimulus of a campfire. Like any educational hobby they must be properly organized under a skilled leader. The Brigades pay considerable attention to bands, and in some orphan homes there is specific training, really of a vocational kind, of lads who are destined to become band-boys in the Forces. Some clubs, and units of other juvenile organizations take the matter seriously, but there is need for much more attention to what is a most valuable activity.

Among girls and older boys dancing is generally popular and it may become a passion. Many clubs organize dances, and this is the usual way of mixing the sexes. A number of mixed clubs have come into existence to meet the needs created by con-

ditions of war and in most of them dancing plays a considerable part. Indeed many of them are open to criticism on the score that they provide so little else. In addition the organization of occasional dances is widespread. There is scarcely a town or village where boys and girls cannot get some opportunity. It is so popular that it is worth while to cater for it commercially, and there are few centres of urban population where there is no public dance-hall. Most of these are probably well conducted, but this is not universally true, and there are places where the lowest standard of conduct finds play. Even where they are in no sense vicious they are apt to tempt the young to indulge in what, although harmless enough in moderation, is a wasteful and expensive pastime when it develops into a craze.

The same criticism that we have levelled against other art forms as they are practised to-day applies also to dancing. Like the rest it has been degraded mainly by commercialism, but there has been a steadily growing movement to restore it to its earlier position. Unfortunately the revival of folk-dancing has been associated with a certain tendency to earnest zeal which robs it of the qualities that most young folk want. But there are hopes that, with the work done by the schools and the increasing attention of voluntary organizations, the dance may be restored to the place which it should hold as a recreative art.

Finally there are the arts of drawing, painting and sculpture. Again it is the schools alone which can lay the foundation for better taste and greater skill. A number of clubs and juvenile bodies encourage the practice, but not many of them have the equipment and can provide the skilled guidance which are necessary. A leader here and there may have the enthusiasm and ability to inspire the members and often the results are excellent. An admirable activity is the decoration of club premises with pictures, frescoes and carving; and there are examples where excellent effects have been produced. The talent is there: it needs evoking and training.

CHAPTER IX

BOYS' ORGANIZATIONS

THE voluntary organizations catering for youth are various in their nature and their size. They go back to the movements

which began to take shape at the end of the last century, although they can be traced to pioneers who were beginning to see the need of tackling the problem of youth more than a hundred years ago. These bodies fall into certain groups. One main line of division is between the clubs and the uniformed organizations. Another cross classification is between the religious and secular movements. This is more a matter of degree than of kind, as the religious factor is an element in the majority of juvenile organizations, even in those which are not under the direct ægis of the churches. A third grouping is by sex: there are boys' organizations and girls', and some which are mixed in membership.

In all there is the common purpose of providing conditions conducive to a better use of leisure by the young; but the methods vary and the organizations tend, sometimes excessively, to emphasize the peculiar principles which seem to them to be vital and to differentiate them from other agencies working for an end essentially the same. There are welcome signs of a tendency to co-operate and to sink differences in the common purpose.

Some of the youth organizations have a membership of which the majority are school children; but there is general recognition now of the need to cater separately for the child and the adolescent. The provision of organizations for the ex-adolescent—the young man and woman—has been scanty. As we have noted, the new National Youth Committee* has taken within its charge youth up to the age of twenty, and we see already since the outbreak of war an increase of attention to the recreational needs of the young adult. We shall revert to this important aspect of the matter, and consider the implications on the question of mixing the sexes.

Clubs

Boys' clubs have their roots in the work of a few earnest men who at the beginning of the nineteenth century were impelled by a sense of religious and social responsibility to do something for poor boys. The Ragged Schools continued a precarious existence, and as at the end of the century education became a public responsibility, shared by the State and the Churches, private effort turned to providing more recreational facilities for boys. The Sunday School movement grew to large dimensions,

* This has now been dissolved and replaced by the Youth Advisory Council. There are separate bodies for Scotland and Wales.

but as its name implies it is concerned primarily with religious education. It is in fact the supplement of the day school, and so far as figures are available it appears to hold very few children after they leave school. The modern boys' club movement may be said to spring from the work of men like Russell in Manchester less than sixty years ago.

The growth of large towns in the industrial era had created a vast social problem, of which one facet was the well-being of youth. Reliable witnesses tell of the violent excesses of unbridled lads and young men who made night perilous in these seething cities. Gangs fought like warring tribes, occasionally allied against the common stranger who was the prey of all. Nothing is more likely to allay the fears of those who to-day deplore the degeneration of youth and the horrors of juvenile delinquency than to study the appalling state of affairs which prevailed a few generations ago. Old gentlemen blessed with respectable homes were ignorant in their youth of the conditions in which the lads of their generation lived. They are apt to judge the uncared-for lad of to-day in the light of their own sheltered upbringing, and to think erroneously that youth is going to the dogs.

Gradually the clubs increased in number and in quality. At first they were the barest shelters from the streets and from the boredom which only mischief could alleviate. Experience led to system and method. Increasing resources came slowly but helpfully from sympathizers in the work, resources both of money and of personal help. Better premises were obtained; furniture and equipment were acquired. Gymnastics, boxing, wrestling, indoor games, reading, became the activities of the better clubs. Some were able to organize outdoor athletics. Opportunities for learning crafts developed. Membership became a real privilege, symbolized by the payment of a small fee, usually a penny a week; discipline improved and expressed itself in individual self-respect and group pride. The club became a training place in the social art of citizenship.

The movement has now grown to considerable dimensions. Clubs find strength in local federations and the National Association. The National Association of Boys' Clubs before the war had an affiliated membership of over 1,400 clubs. Probably the number to-day is about the same, allowing for those put out of action for one cause or another, and on the other hand for the new ones which have been affiliated. Last

year 215 clubs were newly enrolled. It is a powerful organization which, while leaving the individual club or local federation autonomous, is able to direct and help the movement by moulding national policy and giving guidance and aid. Its power is increased by the facts that it is the channel of certain grants and that other national bodies and the Board of Education expect it to speak for the club movement as a whole. It has also become an agency for training leaders and for helping clubs to find the right men. Perhaps most important of all is that the Association has established standards and only those clubs which reach them can qualify for affiliation.

The requirements laid down are not onerous, but they keep out some clubs. The Association demands that to be affiliated a club:

- (a) Has premises in which it meets regularly, and a responsible head and Committee of Management;
- (b) Charges a membership subscription;
- (c) Has a membership which comprises at least fifteen boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen or, in the case of an Old Boys' Club, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five;
- (d) Meets at least twice a week;
- (e) Is open at all reasonable times to be visited by an accredited officer of the Association;
- (f) (In the case of Old Boys' Clubs) is directly related to a Boys' Club, and wholly or mainly recruited therefrom.

It is also laid down that a club can qualify only if it is carried on in accordance with the *Principles and Aims of the Boys' Club Movement*, a document published some twelve years ago. A better general statement of the functions of a boys' club is difficult to imagine. It insists on the positive educational purpose of a club. "The conception of a club as a mere refuge from the streets, an alternative to the pictures or the street corner, where leisure may be whiled away in innocuous amusements designed to keep boys out of mischief, is more than inadequate; it is deadly." It insists on the importance of discipline, but a discipline as far as possible springing from the good sense and moral quality of the boys rather than from blind obedience to imposed authority. It lays on the club responsibility to aid the boy in acquiring physical, mental and moral fitness so that he may be able to play his part as a citizen, a man and a worker.

The variety of quality in clubs is one of the most salient

features of the movement. Premises vary from a room or two in a back street or a church hall borrowed for the night to large premises built for the purpose, well furnished and equipped for various activities. The difference between the best and the worst is hardly believable. It was estimated before the war that of the affiliated clubs little more than half had premises of their own, while the rest were dependent on the use of rooms, for which they might have to pay, on certain nights of the week. It was thought that the premises which could be regarded as adequate were probably less than a hundred. One of the tragedies of the war has been the damage which has befallen certain of the best clubs in London and other large cities.

It is hard for those who have not seen them to realize the physical difficulties in which some clubs are conducted. How can the club carry out a considered and balanced programme in one or two rooms with no gymnasium; craftrooms or adequate facilities for washing? Or if it can only borrow accommodation in a church hall which is used on other nights of the week by the various groups for which the church must provide? Or if its activities are carried on in school premises, which are designed for teaching, where the furniture is inappropriate and which at the end of the evening must be rearranged for the next day's occupation by school children? It is true that premises are only the outward form of a club, but they are bound to have a marked influence on its spirit and quality.

It is greatly to the credit of undaunted men that in the worst physical conditions they have succeeded in doing invaluable work and have brought inestimable advantages to thousands of boys. This is but another example of the triumph of the spirit over material conditions. It is magnificent. But to argue that therefore the quality and extent of premises do not matter is nonsense. It has been said that given a log with one great mind at one end and six apt learners at the other you have all that is essential to a university. But we do not consider it wise or economical to construct our universities on this simple plan. The worst of it is that the hard experience of many devoted club leaders has given rise to a too prevalent belief in the virtue of poverty. Poverty is a vile condition, even though the spirit may soar above it. If it really is valuable to struggle along in mean surroundings, why build the beautiful and commodious schools which are replacing the miserable places of an earlier day? The fact is that the club leader has had to put up with such

wretched conditions, and has achieved such magnificent results nevertheless, that he is apt to protect himself with the pathetic fiction that he does not want anything better, and indeed that his poverty was the source of his strength.

The underlying cause of this marked disparity in club premises is the fact that the movement has been built up, over a comparatively short space of time, by the sporadic efforts of men of goodwill and devotion. Resources have been shamefully meagre and each enthusiast has had to proceed with whatever means he could secure. The movement has not been popular and until quite recently it has been little known to the public. The marked personal interest in the movement which has been taken by the Royal Family during the last ten years, the help of King George's Jubilee Trust and the activities of the National Association have begun to bring it into the public eye; but before that it was a very humble movement. The universities and public schools have for long patronized clubs in large cities, but the actual connection which they had, even with clubs bearing their names, usually depended on the devotion of a few enthusiasts.

Another result of the haphazard growth of the movement is the irregular provision of clubs. It was natural that many should be established in London. Large cities present a peculiar need, but in the provincial towns the growth has borne no consistent ratio to need. It has depended on the accident of personal initiative. The result is that before the war there were 111 clubs in Liverpool, 86 in Birmingham, 39 in Bristol, 29 in Manchester, 4 in Hull, 3 in Leeds, 1 in Leicester. Or to take counties, there were 50 in Staffordshire, 25 in Cumberland, 2 in Suffolk and 1 in Cornwall. Even when variations in population are taken into account there is no reasonable basis for such wide discrepancies. The fact is that the field was inadequately covered everywhere, but that the inadequacy was less marked where a few local enthusiasts had used their efforts to provide the money and service necessary to meet part of the need. Only when it is realized nationally that the problem must be tackled in real earnest will these senseless anomalies be rectified. Happily there are signs that this realization is at hand.

The possibilities of a good club are very great, but for the best work it is necessary to have enough space and equipment, free use of premises, and able leadership. Membership of a club is voluntary, and it will depend for its strength on the appeal which is made to the boys. Some leaders of halting faith think

for this reason that they must make things easy and pleasant. The wise leader realizes that the way to win and hold a lad's loyalty is to set a high standard of discipline and achievement, to make demands on his energy, to insist on something more than aimless lounging—in a word to direct each member into the path where he can find satisfaction through active participation and fellowship. At the same time he will realize the difference between the discipline which is imposed by a system of regimentation and that which springs from self-regulated activity. He will know also that as each boy is an individual with his own gifts and idiosyncrasies, so his personality will need its own way of expression.

For that reason a club must have abundant variety of activities. Physical exercise, as varied as possible, craftwork of different kinds, photography, music, drama, reading, writing, expeditions, camping, travel should all be possible. It is of the greatest value to encourage boys to build, extend or embellish their own club or some building in the country which is a rendezvous for outings. Any activity which turns boys outward in service to others is valuable. To work for those who need their help is in itself an activity producing enthusiasm and is a valuable means of educating a sense of social responsibility.

It is hard to overpraise the best clubs. In the true sense of the term a club is an educational force. It directs leisure activities so that they become a medium for the development of personality and character. One of the most valuable elements in club life is the scope which it gives for exercising the art of self-government which is the foundation of citizenship as we in democratic lands believe it should be. It is a school of discipline in which boys learn the way of life that a man needs. There are poor and feeble clubs, ill housed, ill equipped, ill led; but the real club is a centre of the finest culture. The influence of boys' clubs is of inestimable value. But while giving them the praise they deserve we must keep a sense of proportion by reminding ourselves how few boys enjoy these benefits. We must remember that although there were before the war nearly 80,000 boys between fourteen and eighteen who were members of clubs affiliated to the National Association, not every one of those clubs was up to the best level, and what is more that there were about one and a half million boys of that age who were not members of clubs. Qualitatively the influence of clubs is of great worth, but quantitatively that influence is small.

Boys' Brigade

A name which must always command reverent memory in the story of boy welfare is that of Sir William A. Smith, who in 1883 founded the Boys' Brigade. This movement begun by Smith when he was a young Sunday School teacher in Glasgow is fundamentally religious. Every company must be attached to a church, or if it is not there must be a satisfactory arrangement for guaranteeing that the religious teaching is adequate. Smith was a keen Volunteer and he adopted military drill as the best means in his view of giving boys discipline and smartness. He did not want to keep out the poor boy, so a uniform is not used; but every boy has his cap, belt and haversack which give a touch of smartness and uniformity.

Parade night and attendance at church on Sunday are the core of Brigade activity. The main element of the parade night is drill, and there is no doubt that the boys reach a high standard of efficiency. Drill with rifles or dummy rifles has been banned for many years, and up-to-date kinds of physical exercise, as well as athletics and swimming, form a considerable part of training.

Officers are encouraged to know their boys, on and off parade, and many take a real and helpful interest in their lives. The annual camp is regarded not only as a holiday for the boys, but as a valuable exercise in discipline and as an opportunity for officers to come into closer personal touch with the lads and so get to know them and win their confidence. Brigade camps are often organized on a large scale and there are a number of well-equipped sites with certain standing buildings as a nucleus for a canvas camp.

In order to encourage individual achievement and to produce a spirit of healthy emulation the badge system was introduced many years ago. It is somewhat limited in scope but, apart from general efficiency, it covers a number of activities: qualified membership of the band, ambulance, fire service, life-saving, swimming, signalling, gymnastics, camping, wayfaring, education, and arts and crafts.

A few companies have come to realize that one parade night and Sunday attendance are not enough to fill a boy's leisure hours, and there is a tendency to develop what is really a club. A few companies have special premises and there it is easier to have activities throughout the week; but most merely have the use of a church hall once a week.

The Boys' Brigade was founded in Scotland and was originally

predominantly Presbyterian. But now it extends to all the main Protestant denominations. The Scottish tradition is still strong and the Brigade has its greatest hold in Scotland. Its numerical strength there, relative to the population, is six times that in England and Wales.

The Boys' Brigade before the war had 165,500 members in the United Kingdom, including the Life Boys, who are under twelve. There were nearly 68,000 in the fourteen to eighteen age group.

Other Brigades

There is a Church Lads' Brigade attached exclusively to the Church of England. It is similar in many respects to the Boys' Brigade, but its basis is rather more military. At one time it was affiliated to the British National Cadet Association, and many of the boys were dressed in khaki. Now the Church Lads' Brigade has a smart blue uniform which is provided by the organization.

It is a relatively small body, with 7,250 members between fourteen and eighteen before the war. Up to 1937 membership has been declining considerably. Seeing that there is no apparently vital difference separating it from the Boys' Brigade, except that it is exclusively Anglican and somewhat more military in doctrine, it would seem desirable to amalgamate the two movements.

There is also a Jewish Lads' Brigade which flourishes in London and has branches in some of the larger cities. The membership is about 2,500 and of these some 1,500 are between fourteen and eighteen. Apart from the religious difference it approximates in general practice to the Christian brigades.

Scouts

The largest of the boys' organizations is the Scout movement, which was founded by Baden-Powell in 1908 and has grown into a world-embracing association. The membership, excluding officers, in Great Britain before the war was 387,000. It is divided into three age classes. These are the Wolf Cubs under eleven, the Boy Scouts, and the Rover Scouts over seventeen. Nearly 102,000 of them are over fourteen.

The brilliant conception of Baden-Powell was to devise an enthralling game which at the same time was a medium of education. His peculiar gifts were a knowledge of the juvenile mind and an ability to catch a boy's interest. He himself was a

Scout, who had learned to depend on himself among wild creatures in wild places. He knew and loved the woodland ways and he was at home on the rivers and amid the mountains by day and in the darkness. In learning how to live there he had acquired a way of life. He had learned to be self-reliant, self-subsistent, resourceful, to be careful and fearless. These qualities had made him the man he was, and it was his aim to open this way of life even to the lads cramped in the narrow ways of our sophisticated lamp-lit cities. Through this game he believed that he could help them to be better men, more agile in body, more flexible in mind, nobler in conduct.

Although his system was essentially individualistic, it used to the full the instinct for and the strength of brotherhood. The creed of the Scout is personal and social. It springs from faith in the worth of human nature and the potency of honour. It offers happiness and pleasure: it demands sacrifice and compliance with high standards. Its demands are simple but wide. The boy must win his membership of this brotherhood with a dedicatory promise. "On my honour I promise that I will do my best—To do my duty to God and to the King. To help other people at all times. To obey the Scout Law." The Scout Law covers everything that makes manhood.

- (1) A Scout's honour is to be trusted.
- (2) A Scout is loyal to the King, his country, his officers, his parents, his employers, and those under him.
- (3) A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others.
- (4) A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what social class the other belongs.
- (5) A Scout is courteous.
- (6) A Scout is a friend to animals.
- (7) A Scout obeys orders of his parents, patrol leader, or scout master without question.
- (8) A Scout smiles and whistles under all difficulties.
- (9) A Scout is thrifty.
- (10) A Scout is clean in thought, word, and deed.

The system of Scouting is in line with the most modern educational thought and it works on the most primitive human instincts. The troop is a civilized gang. The system is based on the axiom that you learn most easily what you enjoy learning. It recognizes the love of symbolism and make-believe which inspire the boyish imagination. By blending symbolism and functionalism Baden-Powell aroused enthusiasm for what he wanted to teach. The Scout's staff is a treasured symbol and it serves as a valuable tool to the wanderer: it clears the brushwood

for the woodlander, it supports a tent against sun or rain, it can be lashed with others to bridge a stream. Knotting, whittling, hewing, pathfinding, star-reading, fashioning wood, metal or fire, cooking, sewing: who can say whether they are games or useful occupations? The two blend as they should in the best lessons.

The whole purpose of Scouting is to organize activities and expeditions so that the lesson is a means to acquiring the skill necessary to do the job in hand. Physical fitness is not worshipped as an end in itself but as a necessary condition for playing the whole game to the top of your bent. The musician and the singer must cultivate their talent to make a better camp. Builders exercise their cunning to make a habitation for the troop: the painter and the carver train their hand to adorn it. And so it goes on throughout the whole scale of human ability.

To encourage activities there is a comprehensive system of badges. Boys love a token of achievement and these badges can be won for almost any kind of proficiency that a Scout can attain. There is an element of absurdity in plastering oneself with insignia; but it is more absurd to the adult than to the juvenile mind. The advantages of the appeal to a boy are great enough to outweigh the disadvantages, and we must always remember that Scouting is a boy's game.

Another criticism of the movement has been that the uniform and the salute encourage a militaristic tendency. This is an empty charge, and it is counteracted by the criticism from other quarters that Scouts lack the discipline and smartness which the Brigades inculcate with their greater stress on drill and their stricter standards of bearing.

Some criticize the uniform on other grounds. There is the fact that it may be a cause of hardship to the poorest. It is also conspicuous and a trifle bizarre, with the result that some boys in the self-conscious stage are shy of it. This probably militates against membership to some extent among older boys. On the other hand it is neat and lends the tidiness of uniformity; and moreover it is, with the exception of the rather clumsy hat, a most sensible and serviceable dress.

The movement has also to meet the accusation of being irreligious. It is true that it is a secular organization, but it does not fail to emphasize the necessity of religion and to encourage worship. It must be remembered that it is a world-wide movement and under its shade is place for boys of every creed and

sect, and even for those who subscribe to none. It is possible for any denominational group to form its troops within the movement, and among the members to inculcate the religious tenets to which it adheres; and in that sense the churches can use the movement for their own religious needs. It is equally possible for a secular organization such as a school, a factory or a club to form a troop, and it may or may not emphasize the religious element. Even if a troop is under no denominational ægis it is part of the doctrine of Scouting that religion in the broadest sense shall be a part of the Scout's life and practice. It is a criticism from another direction that there is too much religion in the movement. The fact is that there is the widest latitude within which individual troops may operate, and the criticisms from opposing sides cancel out effectively.

The flexibility of the movement is its strength but also a weakness. There is room for a great variety of activities and it may embrace every creed. But this same freedom results in variability of standard. It is hard to exaggerate the value to those who are in the best kind of troop, but there are troops in which the spirit is poor and activities are feeble. Ultimately the quality of any group depends on leadership, and the officers of a troop determine its vitality and usefulness.

There are certain conditions, often beyond the control of the leader, which affect the success of a troop. A number of activities are possible if a troop is large enough and comprises a well-balanced proportion of Cubs, Scouts and Rovers, which are impossible in a small group of narrow age range. Premises are a not unimportant factor of success. It is true that much can be done even if only a church room is available once a week; but where a troop has its own headquarters there are greater possibilities of cultivating a variety of activities. The mere possession of premises is a stimulus to troop pride and *esprit de corps*. Unfortunately a considerable proportion of troops are obliged to make the best of such premises as they can borrow. The necessity of having to pack up all the paraphernalia after every meeting is in itself a handicap. If on the other hand the troop has its own quarters it can decorate and equip them and generally create the atmosphere which counts for much. To do this is an unending objective of craftwork of all kinds.

In addition to the ordinary Scouts there is a special section of Sea Scouts and Sea Rover Scouts. The fundamental principles are the same in these sections, but instead of basing their training

solely on the land they cultivate activities afloat. They have an appropriate uniform of navy blue. The numbers before the war were relatively small: in 1937 Sea Scouts and Sea Rovers together totalled 6,669.

Since war began a branch of Air Scouts has been started. In the circumstances this was a natural step, but it is obviously not possible to make the air an element of activity like the land and water for the other branches.

A new division of War Service Scouts has been started recently. While embodying the ordinary principles of Scouting, it is designed to give boys over fifteen a more general training than the Cadet Corps which are attached to a particular Service. It aims at fitting a boy "to do any job of National Service which may come along". The organization is based on a system of small patrols which elect their own leaders. The members wear a distinctive armlet.

Comparison of Brigades and Scouts

It is inevitable to make comparison between the Boys' Brigade and the Scouts which in their several ways have done so much for boys. Apart from the difference of stress laid on religious observance by the two organizations they differ in their methods of inculcating discipline. The Brigade undoubtedly produces a boy who is smart, tidy, punctual; and there are many boys who like the drill and regimental methods which are used to this end. Baden-Powell on the other hand rated low the value of drill as an educational method. He recognized its use as a means of moving persons as groups, but he denied its value *per se* except to a limited extent. This judgement springs naturally from the individualistic doctrine which permeates his whole system; and the general body of educational opinion would agree with him. The same principle is exemplified in the liberalization of physical training. Nowadays this is designed no less than ever to give smartness and precision of bearing, but these are achieved by the exercise of the body and mind in such ways as will develop rhythm, agility, alertness and poise. It aims at combining individual efficiency with group co-operation. Mass movement and team games have their part. The element of play is used and free energy and fun are given a place. It is noteworthy that the armed forces, which are regarded as the sacred repository of discipline, recognize these principles of training. They still regard smartness and precision as important, but not as the only

criteria of discipline. There are old soldiers who deplore what they call the ragged and sloppy ways prevailing nowadays. It may be that the men of 1918 moved with more obviously satisfying exactitude than is to be seen in 1942, although even that may be disputed. What is sure however is that there is no evidence that the young men who won the Battle of Britain in 1940, who achieved the evacuation at Dunkirk, who manned and fought in the tanks in Libya lacked that essential discipline which is the hall-mark of a real army. Italy had been drilling its young men for half a generation, and what happened to them in Africa?

In any case the question has certain special facets in respect of a voluntary organization. Whatever may be desirable must be judged in the light of practicability; and if an organization is composed of voluntary members their predilections weigh more than in a compulsory system. It is not suggested that Baden-Powell was moved by any motives of cheap popularity: on the contrary he realized that nothing stimulates a boy's loyalty and effort more than making demands for self-sacrifice. At the same time he wanted quite properly to attract boys, and he felt that in fact the methods which were in his view sound educationally would also be more attractive. His statement on the subject of drill as a medium of training is so well said that it is worth recording in full. In reading it one must remember that it was written by a soldier.

"I used often to be asked by Scouters—not by the boys—to introduce more drill into the training of Boy Scouts, but, although, after an experience of thirty-four years of it, I recognize the disciplinary value of drill, I also see very clearly its evils. Briefly they are these:

"(1) Military drill gives a feeble, unimaginative officer a something with which to occupy his boys. He does not consider whether it appeals to them or really does them good. It saves *him* a world of trouble.

"(2) Military drill tends to destroy individuality, whereas we want, in the Scouts, to develop individual character; and when once drill has been learned it bores a boy who is longing to be tearing about on some enterprise or other; it blunts his keenness. Of boys drilled in Cadet Corps under 10 per cent. go into the Army afterwards. Our aim is to make young backwoodsmen of them, not imitation soldiers.

"For these reasons, I would not like to see any more of the dull routine of drill introduced into our training, but, at the same time, I hold that a certain amount is necessary, especially in a new troop or for new recruits, so that boys can be taught to hold

themselves properly and to move smartly and together when required.

"After all, drill is not the prerogative of the Army—or of the Navy or Air Force for that matter. It is used in different forms in civil life and in industry so that a man may learn to do things in the right way and in the right order."*

For the Scout camping is of central importance. Camping is the opportunity for putting the boy into a situation where he can exercise his own individual resourcefulness. There is a fundamental difference between the principles of camping as practised by the Scouts and the Boys' Brigade. The Scout is taught the technique and the dodges through the means of the group camp. There he has also opportunity for the wider fellowship which a large camp offers. He must learn how to manage, how to overcome difficulties, how to respect the woodland or the field where his tent is pitched, with all the ancillary arts that camping involves. As soon as he has acquired skill and a sense of responsibility he is encouraged to venture forth with a few of his companions to brave the world without a leader's supporting hand. The result will doubtless be unfortunate sometimes. Times and distances will be misjudged, food will be inappropriate, farmers will be annoyed, and so on and so forth. The Boys' Brigade on the other hand avoids these consequences by planning camps on a large scale and arranging them in an orderly fashion, often round a nucleus of standing buildings. Catering is undertaken with care, and good cooking is provided. These things make for a valuable holiday for an overworked town lad, and an abundance of well-cooked, good food is of first-rate importance. There will be no chance of slipshod ways: the desirable conditions of order, cleanliness, safety and good conduct will be ensured. But as a means of training the method of the Scouts is worth far more. It takes the risks which all sound education must take. It's a poor rider who has never taken a toss.

There is another fundamental difference of principle between the two movements which brings out what is perhaps the chief weakness in the Scouts. Baden-Powell was one of those rare creatures who throughout a long and virile manhood retained the imagination, vivacity and enthusiasm of a boy. It was largely because he had those gifts that he was able to invent a game which has enthralled the boys of the five continents. In his enthusiasm he forgot that the vast majority of boys grow out of

* Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, p. 319.

that stage of adolescence which, in the best sense, he never passed from wholly. Boys want to become men and in doing the things that men do to put behind them the ways and the play of boys. There is nothing unnatural or abnormal in this. The only pity is that by throwing boys into the industrial vortex so early we encourage a too early development of their desire to be men. Baden-Powell believed he had found in Scouting a way of life in which a man could walk until the grave. In a sense he was right. The habits and the virtues which Scouting can develop are of life-long value, but the activities of Scouting are essentially those which a boy and not a man wants.

Recognizing the difficulties he strove to meet them by creating the class of Rover Scouts for the older boy or young men. Some will find expression in this senior branch of the movement, but the great majority by the time they leave school feel that the game is played. It is a natural tendency for a boy on leaving the tutelage of school and becoming a wage-earner to want to put aside everything that seems to him to belong to childhood. That this should happen generally at the age of fourteen is a present fact, but not immutable; and when boys stay at school until fifteen or sixteen it is to be expected that Scouting will hold them longer. Similarly it is most possible that the creation of a system of compulsory part-time education to eighteen will mean an accession of strength to the Rovers. The psychological change from adolescence to manhood is affected profoundly by physiological causes, but not wholly. Raising the school-leaving age will delay that immensely important event, the entry into the ranks of the workers, which deludes a boy into thinking he has become a man.

The Boys' Brigade recognizing the change from boyhood to manhood sets out to cater for the adolescent. It has a preparatory branch for children, like the Scouts, but it expects a boy to leave the Brigade at the age of seventeen. It believes in recruiting its leaders from its own ranks and it is only those boys wanting to continue as officers who may stay on. These are necessarily not a large proportion, and they are sifted out by a careful process of selection.

It is worth noting that the Brigades have a larger proportion of adolescent members than the Scouts. It is not possible to make an exact comparison as the two movements have figures for different groupings. Of the total membership of the Boys' Brigade (normally twelve to seventeen, with exceptional ex-

tension to eighteen) the fourteen to eighteen group is 72 per cent. of the whole. Of all Scouts and Rovers, from eleven but without an upper limit, the fourteen to eighteen group is 39 per cent. of the whole. It is approximately true to say therefore that the adolescent membership is relatively twice as strong in the Boys' Brigade as in the Scout movement.

It must not be deduced that this results wholly, or even mainly, from the fact that one aims more specifically at being a movement for boyhood; but that is doubtless an operative factor. An important cause is the much greater size of the Scout movement. The larger a movement the greater is the difficulty of holding it together. To find efficient voluntary leaders for some 450,000 boys is not an easy matter.

Young Men's Christian Association

The Young Men's Christian Association, as its name implies, is concerned primarily with young men rather than with boys. In its ordinary membership it includes many young adults scarcely out of boyhood. On the whole these tend to come from a social stratum rather higher than that served by the average boys' club. Before the war it included however 89 centres with boys' departments, and these were scarcely distinguishable from an ordinary boys' club and in many cases they were affiliated to the National Association of Boys' Clubs.

We make reference elsewhere to the training schemes* and the hostels† for working lads organized by the Association.

Cadet Corps

Before the war there was a Cadet Corps related to each of the three services. The best established was the British National Cadet Association backed by the War Office. It was not very popular and numbered only about 22,000, of whom the majority, some 18,000, were between fourteen and eighteen. The Sea Cadet Corps, organized by the Navy League, was smaller still, with a total membership of 7,000, of whom four-fifths were between fourteen and eighteen. The Air Defence Cadet Corps, founded in 1938 by the Air League of the British Empire, catering for boys between fifteen and eighteen, was about 10,000 strong before the war.

From this it will be seen that none of these movements was

* See pp. 40-42 *supra*.

† See pp. 40-42, 52 *supra*.

strong. As might be expected the conditions of war have made a great difference, and one of the most remarkable developments has been the growth, under the ægis of the Air Ministry, of what is now called the Air Training Corps. It has grown rapidly to a membership of about 200,000. It makes serious demands and wins striking enthusiasm from its members. It is the outstanding proof of the oft-repeated plea that if a movement appeals to a boy's sense of reality and gives him a means of expressing his enthusiasm to do something, and if it has adequate financial resources, it can make heavy demands on his self-sacrifice and energy, and achieve high success.

It is not surprising that at a time when the heroic efforts of the Royal Air Force have won the admiration of the whole civilized world every lad of spirit should be drawn by the romantic appeal which it makes to boyish zeal. The thrill of speed, height and daring deeds exercise a compelling influence, and the thought of being able to qualify for membership of the most spectacularly heroic force in the world electrifies the young spirit. Add to this the right to wear an attractively smart uniform at a time when that light blue is so much admired and honoured, the possibility of shining in the panoply of modern knighthood, and one can well understand how magnetic is the lure.

In peace time a uniform was in some cases a deterrent, but now it is obviously a great attraction. The Cadet Corps have the considerable advantage over such organizations as the Scouts of being able to give a uniform free of cost and of coupons.

It remains to be seen how far the Corps will maintain their membership when war and its enthusiasms are replaced by the relief and the lassitude that peace will inevitably bring. If a youth movement is to serve its proper ends it must be concerned primarily with the purpose of producing men and citizens. That is an educational function and the peace-time future of the Training Corps will depend on their ability to train youth in the difficult arts on which co-operative, democratic citizenship depends.

The Army Cadet Force now has some 165,000 members over fourteen. There are also about 120,000 boys under eighteen in the Home Guard.

The war has also stimulated recruitment of Sea Cadets. The Admiralty has taken over the training and control of the Corps, which now numbers about 45,000; but administration

remains in the hands of the Navy League. It encourages membership for boys who aim at joining the Navy through the Y Entry Scheme.

A large number of boys are engaged in part-time Civil Defence work,* and uniformed Civil Defence Corps have been recognized in Liverpool (entry at fifteen) and in Westminster (entry at sixteen). The aim is to organize boys engaged in this work, to widen their training, to give facilities for recreation, and so to reduce the tendency to demoralization which may result from disorganized attachment to the adult service. There are similar bodies in several other localities, but they have not received official blessing.†

Sunday Recreation

There is one particularly serious gap which boys' organizations need to fill. The day when most boys are free is Sunday and in the main there is small attempt to give them recreational facilities on that day. Brigades and to a lesser extent Scouts will attend church in the morning, but what is needed is something to occupy boys in the evening. The time-honoured perambulation in the afternoon is universally popular, and a small number will go on some cycling or walking expedition for the day. Roman Catholic clubs make a practice of being open on Sunday evenings and a few Anglican clubs have begun to do the same thing. Unfortunately the most usual pastime for boys who have not sufficient home attractions in the domestic circle, or who do not live in a town where cinemas are open on Sundays, is loafing; and the next-door neighbour to loafing is mischief.

CHAPTER X

GIRLS' ORGANIZATIONS

Clubs

GIRLS' organizations follow the same pattern as the boys'. They can be grouped mainly under the headings of clubs, Guides and Brigades. The main difference is that the welfare of girls is to a considerable extent in the hands of organizations which cater also for women, and which are markedly religious. The other

* See p. 142, *infra*.

† Hansard, 21st May, 1942, col. 353.

differences are those which accord with the differences of taste and habit natural to boys and girls.

Girls' clubs have been developed to a great extent by such bodies as the Girls' Friendly Society and the Young Women's Christian Association. In recent times the independent club, primarily social in its purpose, has become more prevalent. Many are connected by some degree of affiliation or dependence with a church. Most clubs, whatever their activities, have a religious element in their activities.

The National Association of Girls' Clubs, like its counterpart for boys, is an affiliation partly of clubs and partly of federations and of bodies which include girls' clubs among their activities. For that reason the Association is frequently unable to exact the standards which it holds to be desirable. It does not feel itself able, having accepted affiliation from such a body say as the Girls' Friendly Society, to refuse to recognize some of its clubs. The same difficulty faces the National Association of Boys' Clubs, but not to the same extent. The fact is that there are a number of girls' clubs which are recognized but are of poor quality.

Owing to the peculiar system of affiliation it is difficult to estimate precisely the total number, but before the war the figure was about 3,500, with a membership in the fourteen to eighteen year old age-group of some 65,000. This figure is comparable with the total of 76,000 boys in affiliated clubs. These numbers do not measure the ratio of work, as the average attendance is considerably lower for girls. The National Association of Boys' Clubs demands opening on at least two nights a week as a condition of recognition, but there are many girls' clubs which operate only once a week. Of the 2,200 clubs under the Girls' Friendly Society probably over 90 per cent. meet only once a week, and some even less frequently. It has been estimated for all affiliated girls' clubs that 60 per cent. meet only once a week and less than 20 per cent. more than twice.

One important cause of the difference between boys' and girls' clubs is to be found by a study of origins. In the past girls were more likely than boys to leave home to work. Domestic service drew girls away, but boys stayed at home during the time when their wage was insufficient for independent maintenance. Churches and socially minded individuals would start a club where the girl could spend her free evening as the only alternative to aimless wandering or fortuitous companionship. There was

perhaps a wide variation of age in the membership, and young girls might be in a small minority. The result would be a quiet and staid atmosphere. Boys' clubs on the other hand have rarely been tacked on to men's clubs. Occasionally one finds them together, but it is unsatisfactory. Girls mature more quickly than boys, and women are more long-suffering with the ways of girls than men with those of boys.

A large number of girls' clubs use a room on church premises or in a private house. Some have their own headquarters, but a smaller proportion than in the case of boys' clubs, and they suffer seriously in this respect. The number of girls' clubs adequately housed in their own premises is exceedingly small.

Modern methods, largely under the stimulus and guidance of the Association, are becoming more prevalent; but still there are large numbers of clubs which do not meet the need of the thousands of girls who want some energetic activity as an expression of their vitality. An immense improvement has come about with the increased provision of physical training. Girls are glad to spend a considerable part of their leisure in restful and sedentary pursuits. Hobbies such as sewing, knitting, painting, and a number of handicrafts, will hold their attention. They like reading, chatting and quiet games. An ingenious leader can encourage the girls in a great number of handicrafts. Although some are incapable of applying themselves to anything elaborate, there are others who execute complicated embroidery, leather work, glove-making, bookbinding and dress-making of quite an advanced character. For the less skilled there are various sorts of bead work, gesso, linoleum cutting, and the simpler kinds of knitting, basketry, raffia work or rug-making. The Association helps in the development of this work. It has shared with other national bodies, like the Girls' Friendly Society and the Young Women's Christian Association, in grants from King George's Jubilee Trust, given specifically to encourage handicrafts among girls. Before the war organizers were appointed to propagate ideas and to assist in obtaining materials more cheaply by a central purchasing scheme. Another activity which is encouraged is cooking, but too many clubs lack proper facilities. Where facilities and good teaching are available excellent work is often done.

Some clubs have developed a section for little girls. In boys' clubs the admission of younger children is to be deprecated, and it is generally agreed that in no case should they mix with older lads. With girls the case is different. Many leaders hold that

'it is valuable to have a children's section which gives opportunity to the older girls to practise mothercraft which is expressive of an instinct latent in most of them.

Girls need an outlet for their physical energy. Even those who have spent a day in machine work or on some routine process in a factory find welcome relief in spirited exercise. Physical training before the war had become an extremely popular vogue under the attractive name of Keep Fit classes, and it was made alluring by a suggestion of beauty culture. The League of Health and Beauty did a great deal to spread the fashion in all classes and among all ages. Although the movement had certain specious elements it was beneficial in attracting a number of girls to undertake exercises that were well conceived. The popularity of the vogue doubtless strengthened the practice of physical training in clubs. Success depends primarily on a good teacher, and many clubs were able to have excellent tuition. Leaders were provided by the local groupings of girls' clubs, by Education Authorities and such bodies as the Central Council for Recreative Physical Training. The next desideratum is a good hall, but in this respect many clubs were badly lacking. Even those halls that were available often had a poor floor or inadequate ventilation; and very few had any bathing facilities. In this last respect girls' clubs are much worse provided than boys' clubs; and it does not appear that leaders mind much.

Girls play some indoor games of a more strenuous kind, and occasionally they go in for fencing. But in general there is little indoor exercise except physical training, including some running, skipping, and jumping, as well as dancing which is always popular. Some clubs organize outdoor athletics, such as hockey, netball, stool-ball and tennis, but few have satisfactory facilities or lay much stress on this kind of activity. Walking and cycling are popular, and a number of clubs arrange camping holidays. A few have a small retreat by the sea, on the moors or in the country which is used as a headquarters for expeditions at week-ends or for longer spells of holiday. Facilities of this kind are of inestimable value. County Associations and some national bodies have provided quarters for this purpose, and club members can make use of Youth Hostels.

Brigades

After the pattern of the Boys' Brigade, there has grown up the Girls' Life Brigade. It was founded in 1902 as a religious and recreational movement. Each group is attached to a church or

chapel, like the Boys' Brigade, and it is interdenominational among the Protestant churches. It is organized in four age-grades of which the Seniors are between fourteen and eighteen and the Pioneers are over eighteen.

It is a small organization, with a total membership of 38,500 in the United Kingdom, of which 80 per cent. are found in and around London. The number of members between fourteen and eighteen amount to about 6,200.

There is also a Church Girls' Brigade, analogous to the Church Lads' Brigade, and like it, having affiliation to the Anglican Church as its special *raison d'être*. It is quite a small organization and before the war its membership in the fourteen to eighteen year age-range was under 1,000.

Girl Guides

Much the largest and most influential organization for girls is the Girl Guides' Association. It was founded by Lord Baden-Powell in 1910 to give girls opportunities for education and recreation analogous to those which Scouting provided for boys. Naturally there are differences between the two movements, but they are based on similar principles. The Girl Guides' Association describes itself as existing—

“for the purpose of developing good citizenship among girls by forming their character; training them in habits of observation, obedience and self-reliance; inculcating loyalty and thoughtfulness for others; teaching them services useful to the public and handicrafts useful to themselves; promoting their physical development; making them capable of keeping good homes and of bringing up good children. Its desire is to co-operate with educational and other bodies working to this end.

“The method of training is to give the girls pursuits which appeal to them, such as games and recreative exercises, which lead them on to learn for themselves many useful crafts. It is a scheme of elder and younger sisters playing games together, rather than the instruction of privates by officers in a cut-and-dried disciplinary machine, or of pupils by school teachers in an academic curriculum.”

The fact that it is a girls' movement distinguishes it from the Scouts, but it is a close counterpart. Love of the woodland, familiarity with outdoor ways, camping, the simple ritual and symbolism which appeal to the young, the basing of a way of

life on a belief in the fundamental importance of the individual and the guiding of that individual into habits of social responsibility are all of them common to both.

Different talents and skill are proper to girls and consequently the badge system recognizes types of achievement special to them. At the same time there is a wide similarity, and activities that might be regarded as peculiar to boys or to girls are encouraged in both. A Scout must cook and sew, and a Guide is encouraged to cobble and to use the tools of carpentry and even of building. Guiding aims at preparing girls for full womanhood. It does not want to make men of them, but it does believe that girls and women are properly capable of self-reliance, even in some respects which tradition has regarded as unwomanly.

The Guides are graded by age. Brownies are under ten, Guides over ten, and Rangers over fourteen: but it does not follow that a Guide over fourteen automatically becomes a Ranger. There are also Sea Guides and Sea Rangers for those who are attracted to the water; but the numbers are small. The total membership in Great Britain excluding officers was 475,000 before the war, and of these about 110,000 were over fourteen years of age. From this it will be seen that the membership is composed mainly of younger children. It is true of the Guides as of the Scouts that the movement does not hold the adolescent. Actually the proportion of those over fourteen is rather less than in the Scout movement: 23 per cent. of the total membership against 26 per cent. for the Scouts.

Other Organizations

There are a few other smaller organizations of a similar character. The largest is the Girls' Guildry, which is a Scottish movement founded in 1900, a few years before the Guides. It has a total membership of 24,000 and of these 5,400 were between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. It is a recreational organization, but it lays great stress on religious instruction, and as in the Brigades every unit is under the control of a church.

The British Camp Fire Girls is a body founded in 1914 on the model of a similar organization in the United States. It has a small membership of whom about 450 are between fourteen and eighteen. It has a religious flavour, but it is not linked to a church. The appeal is to the romantic and emotional tendencies of girls through an elaborate ritualism. In its sturdier elements

it resembles the Guide movement, with emphasis on woodcraft, camping and service.

The Girls' Friendly Society, founded in 1875, is the organization through which the Anglican Church carries out its social work for women and girls. It caters primarily for members of the church and it is the medium of caring for them in their leisure hours. It has about 2,200 branches throughout the country and it is organized on a diocesan plan. In addition to the ordinary membership which amounts to 70,000, there are 33,000 Candidates who are girls under fifteen. In between these two categories are the 1,700 Prentices who are girls over fourteen but not full Members. The whole membership, including Associates, who are the leaders of the groups, amounts to some 106,000, of whom over 19,000 are girls between fourteen and eighteen. In its clubs the Society has about 2,000 adolescents who are not in the ranks of its ordinary membership.

Whereas the Guides' Association is mainly a children's organization, the Girls' Friendly Society consists mainly of adults. The result is that the atmosphere of its groups tends towards sedateness. Some of the clubs are organized specially for girls and are run on the usual methods of a girls' club; but these are not typical of the work of the Society. A number of the clubs with younger membership have been active in developing Guide activities.

In the past there was, and to some extent there still is, a rather rigidly puritanical spirit governing the Society. Perhaps it is more accurate to describe it as respectable rather than puritanical. It may be urged that this was what the membership wanted. There is nothing despicable in respectability, but it may develop unpleasant kinds of social and spiritual snobbery. It is moreover a quality appealing less to youth than to maturity, and if a club is to serve the carefree, maybe careless, girl it must be liberal in its treatment. There was a rigid rule of purity which meant that no girl who got into trouble, as the euphemism runs, could be enrolled or could remain a member. After much controversy this was abated, and since 1936 membership has been permissible for the repentant sinner.

The Scottish Girls' Friendly Society is an independent body attached to the Church of Scotland and the Episcopal Church. It has a very small membership of girls between fourteen and eighteen. There is also a Society for Northern Ireland, which although small caters mainly for adolescents.

The Girls' Friendly Society has done valuable work especially among domestic servants, for whom it provides fellowship and simple recreation which are needed particularly when they are living away from home. Its hostels are invaluable for the girl in a strange town as a resident or as a transient visitor who cannot afford to pay much. The Society also makes a big contribution of protection and comfort to the homeless and the lonely. But it is not essentially a juvenile organization, nor does it set out to be one. Nevertheless it makes a real if limited contribution to the service of the young.

The Young Women's Christian Association, as its name implies, is religious in purpose; but it is interdenominational, and its religious activities are simple and unoppressive. It sets out to be a social organization and depends on the influence of its atmosphere to attract members into religious observance.

Founded in 1853, it is the oldest of the large societies of its kind, and its ramifications are world-wide. In this country the membership is 34,000, of whom 12,000 are adolescent girls. They are Pioneers up to the age of sixteen when they are eligible for full membership. Branches vary considerably in their social quality and in the average age of their members. Many consist largely of middle-class girls and in some there is a considerable number of adults. A most valuable contribution to juvenile welfare is the organization of clubs for girls who are usually not members of the Association. There were over 200 of these throughout the country before the war, and since the outbreak of war a number have been opened to meet the urgent needs of the new conditions. We have referred elsewhere to the hostels for working girls which the Association organized for adolescents who were transferred by the Ministry of Labour from scheduled areas.* They are different from the ordinary hostels run by the Association for its members. These are beyond the means of the young working girl, but they meet a real need for the older, middle-class girl who has limited means but is better off than the manual worker under eighteen.

The Association carries on its activities in Scotland, but owing to divergence of views a section broke away and there is a special Scottish Association characterized by more rigid and puritanical principles and practice. It will not permit such things as dancing, smoking, card-playing or dramatic performances. It does not publish figures of its membership, but it is said to include 1,000

* See p. 40 *supra*.

girls between fourteen and eighteen. Before the war it sponsored about twenty clubs for girls between thirteen and sixteen.

The Christian Alliance of Women and Girls is another body of similar character. It broke away from the Young Women's Christian Association in 1920 in order to maintain a stricter standard of conduct and recreation, and closer conformity with evangelical religious principles. It has about 3,000 members between fourteen and eighteen.

The flavour of society emanates from variety. Conformity to a single pattern is deadening, and fortunately it is foreign to our national genius. But nonconformity may be excessive. It is apt to be wasteful and at worst it is the plaything of cranks. There is real advantage in harnessing the service of voluntary workers and canalizing private benevolence, and so long as this principle is followed it is necessary to have a system sufficiently flexible to attract various predilections. On the other hand there seems to be a good deal of waste in the variety of organizations which are working for the betterment of recreational facilities for young girls. To the outside observer there seems to be little essential difference between some of the organizations, and it is to be hoped that something can be done to unify these different agencies so that the whole movement may benefit.

Service Activities

The war has acted as a stimulus to the desire of girls to give service, and this has found expression not only in participation in mixed-Youth Service Corps* but also in the sporadic growth in different parts of the country of a number of service groups for girls. These are purely voluntary movements and there is no official corps for girls comparable with the Cadet Corps for boys. As the war goes on something of the kind for girls may develop.†

CHAPTER XI

BOYS' AND GIRLS' ORGANIZATIONS

Welsh League of Youth

THERE are a few organizations which open their membership to both boys and girls. The largest is the Welsh League of Youth, or Cwmni Urdd Gobaith Cymru. This body, started in 1922,

* See p. 141 *infra*.

† Since this was written official recognition has been given to the National Association of Girls' Training Corps.

was incorporated in 1932. Of its nature its appeal is limited to Wales. Its primary object is to cultivate the Welsh for Wales by segregating youth in an organization which encourages the use of the Welsh language and an appreciation of Welsh culture in all forms. It also promotes physical fitness, outdoor activities, expeditions and camping on the lines of the Scout and Guide movements.

The membership before the war was about 93,000, including 29,000 between fourteen and eighteen. It is strong in Secondary Schools. It serves a useful purpose in mixing youth from different parts of Wales and in breaking down the parochialism to which Wales is prone. With its concentration on music, singing and literature it suits the Welsh genius, and it makes a contribution in this respect beyond any other juvenile organization.

In these days when the world needs wider horizons and a breaking down of nationalist barriers it is unfortunate that Welsh youth should be subjected to the influence of a body which is based on such a narrow foundation. Its leaders will doubtless rebut the charge and claim that on the basis of Welsh patriotism it is possible to build citizenship of the world. The question remains why it is necessary to have an organization peculiar to Wales. Within the Scout and Guide movements everything that the Welsh League believes in could find scope, with the great advantage that they are organizations with international affiliations and an outlook which is bounded only by the utmost brotherhood and sisterhood of humanity. Within these movements all that is valuable in Welsh culture could find as much freedom of expression as in their own groupings do the forms of culture of all the nationalities which flourish within these world-wide movements. The only essential difference is that the Welsh League admits both boys and girls, but that does not appear to be the principle on which the League claims separate existence.

The League is certainly doing valuable work among its members, but in the interests of concerted and economical effort for youth as a whole it is to be regretted that particularist organizations should compete in a field where so much remains to be done and the utmost co-operation is needed.

Young Farmers' Clubs

Another mixed organization for boys and girls is the National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs. This movement took

shape in 1928 and the Federation was incorporated in 1932. It had not had time before war broke out to develop equally throughout the country. In some parts it has taken root deeply, and in England and Wales there are 532 clubs, with membership of over 20,000. There are similar federations in Scotland and in Northern Ireland, each with over sixty affiliated clubs before war broke out.

The prime purpose of the movement is to bring together boys and girls whose life is likely to be spent in farming. The process is to set them on the job of farming partly as a hobby, partly with the vocational aim of training them in the practical and economic elements of a farmer's calling. Every member of a club must have some farming pursuit, and generally it is found better for members of a club to have the same interest. In one the members will each keep a pig, in another it may be bee-keeping, or gardening. It is obligatory on members to work on strictly economic lines, and to keep careful accounts. The whole thing is a serious affair: it is a first experiment in the business to which their lives are to be devoted.

The age of membership is from ten to twenty or over. The club is a self-governing entity, with its own officers. It meets regularly for business, and members exchange views and have an opportunity of learning from the experience of each other. Adults are not admitted to membership, but they are entitled to give support by advice and encouragement, and they serve as trustees for any capital investment in stock which belongs to the club.

The opportunities which clubs give for social intercourse and for self-government are extremely valuable. Some clubs evoke a remarkable exhibition of ability and of leadership among the members.

Although the clubs were designed for the youth of rural communities, they have spread to the towns, and in these the ultimate vocational purpose is necessarily less marked and the element of hobby is more pronounced. They are none the less valuable. Schools may develop groups and even in the most cramped urban conditions excellent work has been done. If you cannot run a calf or pig club it may be possible to keep poultry or rabbits or to be a gardener.

The rural clubs tend to draw membership mainly from the farmer class, to the exclusion of the farm worker's children. The movement officially would like to see no class distinction. It is not a case of conscious snobbery; but any one familiar with

the countryside knows that the social cleavage is deep and real. However friendly the different strata of society are in casual relationships, they do not in fact mingle beyond a certain line. Reduced to a simple test a farmer's wife does not want her daughter to marry the hind's son, and no rural organization can shut its eyes to that fact. One reason for the marked success of the movement in Northern Ireland is that the rural economy there depends on small ownership in which the farm is a family affair with a relatively small proportion of hired labour. Consequently the stratification that divides English rural society does not exist and a club attracts all the young folk without clashing with social conventions. Another real obstacle to the enlistment of the labourer's child is the financial difficulty of providing the animal which is the usual prerequisite of membership.

The vocational element in Young Farmers' Clubs, combined as it is with recreational interest, is unique in juvenile organizations. It is a most interesting feature and it serves to emphasize the fact that for the farmer at any rate his vocation is not merely a means of getting a living but may be also a way of life. This is true only if his education and imagination are widened and liberalized, and that is what the clubs strive to do. They are not all equally successful, but in the best there is a considerable element of social activity and a development of interest in public affairs, cultural matters and all that comes from giving young minds an opportunity of interplay. Elsewhere we have pointed out and deplored the divorce of vocation and leisure activities which is so marked a feature of our modern mechanized civilization. The Young Farmers' Clubs are a striking demonstration of how the gulf may be bridged.

There is a great work to be done by this movement in raising the intellectual and cultural standards of the rural community, as well as in stimulating an interest in better agricultural economy, and also in bringing something of the vitalizing reality of country pursuits within the compass of town-bred youth. The movement is still young, but it is well established. It has received, most deservedly, considerable financial help from the Ministry of Agriculture, the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, King George's Jubilee Trust and the National Farmers' Union.

Youth Hostels Association

The Youth Hostels Association was a movement of rapidly growing strength before war quelled its activity to a large extent.

Founded in 1930 it aimed at providing cheap and simple lodging for the tourist who was travelling by cycle or afoot. It was of special value to the townsfolk who wanted increasingly to get out into the country, but who could not afford hotels and disliked the poorly conditioned lodgings which were the best thing they could hope for. Further they wanted to be able to put up for the night in remote parts where they had to depend on the chance of finding an accommodating farmer or cottager.

By 1939 the membership had grown from 6,400 in its first year to about 100,000. Probably only some 20 per cent. of these were boys and girls under eighteen, but the members were generally youthful. For an annual subscription of 5s., which is reduced to 2s. 6d. for those under twenty-five, a member had access to any of the 350 hostels in the United Kingdom which were organized by the Associations for England and Wales, for Scotland and for Northern Ireland. Hostels vary from a few hired rooms in a house to considerable buildings erected specially for the purpose, with all degrees between. A number were country and seaside houses, some of them large and beautifully situated, which had been adapted for the purpose.

Each is in charge of a warden responsible for the care and good order of the place, and usually willing to undertake a certain amount of modest catering. There are also facilities for members to prepare their own food if they prefer. The sleeping accommodation is in dormitories in which canvas beds are provided, with a light mattress, a pillow and blankets. The member must bring a sleeping-bag. Expenses are reduced to a minimum by keeping down capital cost on furniture, and by utilizing space to the utmost, even to the extent of having double-decker beds. Service is given by the members on whom lies the obligation of cleaning and tidying the hostel every morning before leaving. The result is that the price of a night's lodging is only 1s.

Hostels were sited according to a carefully planned system, so that a walker could tour certain parts of the country and find hostels at intervals of about twenty miles. This plan was working out well, but the number of hostels might well have been doubled, and many needed to be replaced by something better. If the movement is to serve its purpose properly there should be about 800 hostels throughout the kingdom, and a large number of these should be built specially or be obtained by converting

country houses. It is to be hoped that after the war some use may be made of the accommodation which has been provided in the country for evacuated townfolk and transferred workers. It may be possible for the Association to get part of the camps that have been built, or to be able to transplant some of the light buildings that have been put up.

One of the admirable features of the movement is the spirit of camaraderie which it has produced, cutting through the strata which separate the youth of different sections of society. One means which has been used in a few cases is the banding together of a group of members in the common task of building, reconstructing or decorating a hostel. There have been some remarkable achievements on these lines, and in this direction lies a most hopeful prospect. Coming back to the problem of re-introducing creative activity into leisure we can foresee here the widest possibilities.

One desirable development is to encourage boys and girls under eighteen to use the hostels more. The minimum age for ordinary membership is quite wisely put at sixteen, but younger boys and girls, if they are over eleven, are allowed to use the hostels under the care of an adult. A real difficulty for younger people is the cost. Even one night at 1s. added to the necessity of providing food say for two days away from home is not inconsiderable. Another obstacle is the nervousness of some parents at the thought of a boy, and still more of a girl, being away from maternal care overnight. That is a fear which experiences of war may do something to dissipate. The financial difficulty will remain and there is work to be done by voluntary organizations in encouraging and assisting this movement among adolescents. Already before the war King George's Jubilee Trust had made a grant to the Association with a view to easing the burden on younger boys and girls. It is a line of development which should be prosecuted by Youth Committees. Much could be done by organizations and it is a piece of work falling properly to clubs, other juvenile organizations, and to Day Continuation Schools when they come into being.

Cycling and Walking Clubs

Akin to the Youth Hostels Association in purpose, but different in method, are the walking and cycling clubs. They aim at encouraging people to get out into the country, chiefly on expeditions at the week-end. To some extent their members

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... nome.
... and younger members, and there
... them. Some have a large membership and
... addition; others are ephemeral groups coming together
for a season and evaporating before the next. A number of
young folk will join and form a club, sometimes with a most
impressive name, and next year they will be members of some
other group. It is impossible to estimate the total membership
of these clubs; but anyone travelling on the roads on a Sunday
before the war, and to some extent still, has seen the great
numbers of boys and girls who cycle along in small and large
groups, dressed in the black or cream alpaca jacket which, in
the teeth of all imaginable functionalism, appears to be the
recognized garb of the esoteric cyclist, unless it be the more
obviously practical wind-breaker or the open shirt with a
mackintosh cape in reserve.

There are some large organizations which encourage cycling.
The Cyclists' Touring Club, founded as long ago as 1878, had
a membership of some 37,000 in 1937. The National Cyclists'
Union, founded a few months earlier, also in 1878, is a club
with 18,000 members; and it is a federation of about 1,800
smaller clubs which have a total membership of nearly 50,000.
The members of these organizations are mostly above the
adolescent age, but they are mainly youthful. Boys, and to a
lesser extent girls, cycle a good deal. Clubs, Scouts and Guides
organize outings and many boys plan their own expeditions in
twos and threes. The National Fitness Council had begun to
encourage cycling, but plans had not matured when the Council
was dissolved.

Cycling is an admirable pastime. Not only is it a healthy
exercise, but it also opens out intellectual horizons and widens
experience. Walking has the same advantages, but for many
own dwellers it is difficult and expensive to get out into good
alking country in a day, and the difficulties of planning a
alking tour are considerable.

St. John Ambulance Brigade and Red Cross Society

A large number of boys and girls have been led to train in
aid for the sick and the hurt by the St. John Ambulance
Society and the Red Cross Society. For many years these
societies have organized training and they have developed the

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work among the young with real success. Starting in the : they reach into juvenile organizations where a num classes are held.

The juvenile side of the St. John Ambulance Briga organized in Cadets Divisions. Before the war there were 1 Cadets, of whom about a third were adolescents. The Ca Divisions may have a separate existence, or they may c within another organization such as a school or club. members study first-aid and are given an opportunity of getti first-hand experience by assisting adult members.

Great attention is paid to discipline. Members are taught th necessity of carefulness, obedience and punctuality. Drill i used as a means of developing smartness of bearing and precision of movement. The Brigade has its own uniform, but those who re members of another uniformed organization are allowed o wear their own dress with a special brassard and badge. Although the primary object of the Brigade is to teach the technique of first-aid and nursing it includes athletic pursuits and social pastimes as a means of physical improvement and developing *esprit de corps*.

Through the Junior Red Cross the Red Cross Society has ed its work among boys and girls under seventeen. Its aim eral: to develop a sense of responsibility for the health and e of the community. Beginning with the individual it the child in habits tending to good health, and inculcates ues of cleanliness, wise diet and bodily exercise. From proceeds outwards and teaches the social virtues of ess and care for others. A central article in its creed ernationalism of service.

Junior Red Cross consists partly of groups of boys and ed either as an independent unit or within the school which they may already belong. There are some nbers, of whom about half are over fourteen. There egory of Cadets, who are juvenile members between 17 and seventeen preparing to proceed to adult member- are attached to adult groups with a probationary

need for skill in tending the hurt which has been war has caused an unprecedented enthusiasm ng, as well as among adults, for training in first- has been a ready means by which youth can rning which many have had to give serv

Although it is not possible to get figures, there can be little doubt that young people have made bigger demands than ever before on the training capacity of the St. John Ambulance Brigade and the Red Cross Society which have amalgamated their efforts to a considerable degree to meet the demands made upon them by war.

Religious and Political Organizations

There are a number of other juvenile organizations catering for boys and girls separately or jointly—religious, political and athletic. The Methodist Church has a Young Methodism Department which organizes in its Guilds about 175,000 adolescents under eighteen. The Baptist, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches have similar movements on a smaller scale. In the Roman Catholic Church the Knights of Columba is a society caring for about 4,000 boys between fourteen and eighteen, and the Grail movement is concerned with girls, but it operates on a small scale. The Young Christian Workers' movement is a small Catholic organization with separate sections for boys and for girls. It is a small offshoot of a Belgian movement,* interesting for the emphasis which it lays on social and industrial reform. The Church Army and the Salvation Army also have their juvenile organizations, which are religious and recreational.

The Anglican Church does not organize its teaching of religion to youth in the same way. Apart from its large system of Sunday Schools, which in fact do not include many over fourteen, it has recreational clubs in many parishes, and in these religion has an important place. For recreational purposes it utilizes the Scout, Guide and Brigade organizations, and for girls there is the Girls' Friendly Society. Many parishes also have societies for young people with a definitely religious objective; but their members are mostly past adolescence.

The Anglican Young People's Association was founded in 1936 in an attempt to co-ordinate and vitalize youth activities, both spiritual and recreational, in the Church. Its exact scope and range are somewhat elusive. Its influence appears not to have spread widely, but it seems to be run with keenness and enthusiasm. It probably reaches the young adult rather than the adolescent. There is a small movement in Yorkshire called the Christian Workers' Union. It is an Anglican counterpart of

* See Addleshaw, *Jocism*, S.P.C.K., 1939.

the Young Christian Workers, and it is inspired by similar principles.

There are also a number of religious but undenominational organizations, such as the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour, the Brotherhood Youth Movement, the Crusaders' Union, the Shaftesbury Society and Ragged School Union, and the Regnal League.

The main purpose of all these societies is religion, but in varying degrees they provide for recreation and inculcate a spirit of service. As we have seen already, a great number of other organizations give an important place to religion, such as the Brigades, clubs, and the Girls' Friendly Society, although they are not primarily religious.

All the political parties have organizations which cater for youth. Probably the largest is the Conservative Primrose League, but it does not publish figures of membership. Its activities are largely recreational. It claims not to teach any party creed, but its influence is certainly party-political. The Junior Imperial League consists mostly of those over eighteen and gives opportunity for participation in political activities.

The Young Liberals operate under the ægis of the Liberal Party. It does not appear to be a strong movement and it contains few members under eighteen. In some branches it develops recreational activities, but it is mainly political in purpose.

The Labour Party has a League of Youth the aims of which are primarily political. Development has been variable, but some branches have shown considerable vitality. Its appeal, like that of the Young Liberals and the Junior Imperial League, is mainly to older adolescents, and to young men and women. There is also an insignificant juvenile organization under the National Council of Socialist Sunday Schools.

The Co-operative Movement has two juvenile organizations. The British Federation of Co-operative Youth is concerned with promoting co-operative doctrine and practice and is politically socialist; but it has a recreative and social side to its work: The Woodcraft Folk, its other youth organization, is akin to the Scout and Guide movements in many respects, but to its outdoor and recreative activities it adds the inculcation of co-operative and socialist doctrine. The two organizations probably include about 5,000 adolescent members.

The Young Communist League has been a lively organiza-

tion, but most of its members appear to have been over the age of adolescence. Although it has a recreational side, its energy has found ample outlet in political work of various kinds. What it has lacked in numbers it has made up in vitality. Extreme organizations are the natural homes of enthusiasm.

The British Youth Peace Assembly, somewhat vocal before the war, seems to have become less active. It was ostensibly a non-party organization interested in political questions, but in fact it appeared to be influenced largely by young communists. It probably did not enrol many adolescents.

The Junior section of the League of Nations Union is political, but not identified with any party. It had grown before the war to a membership of about 25,000 boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen. It is organized in Junior Branches, which may be independent, but which are usually within a school. It is an important tenet of the society that it should be educational and not propagandist. In order to prevent it from becoming doctrinaire and theoretical, encouragement is given to practical activities, such as foreign travel and correspondence with boys and girls in other countries.

Lastly there are a number of societies which aim at inculcating abstinence from alcoholic liquors. The chief is the Band of Hope Union which works in connection with churches and Sunday schools. Certain of the other temperance societies have junior sections.

Mixing the Sexes

The majority of the organizations dealt with in this chapter cater for boys and girls together. We have referred to the few exceptions. The question of mixing the sexes in recreational organizations has given rise to much concern and debate, and latterly the tendency towards mixed activities has grown rapidly. The war has given it a sudden stimulus.

Adolescence develops normally into the age of mating, and part of the preparation of youth is to learn to meet and mix on terms of friendship and courtesy with the other sex. This process begins at different ages according to individual idiosyncrasy and partly according to social tradition. Fundamentally it depends on physiological, and consequent psychological, changes; and speaking generally it begins some two years earlier with girls than with boys. The average lad of sixteen is happiest when he is at play with other boys of his own age. Their pastimes

must give an outlet to bodily energy; they must satisfy the desire for physical expression and competitive accomplishment. The craving for friendship is strong, and the boy will devote himself to a pal, it may be on terms of equality, or according to temperament as a dominant or a subservient partner. Or again it may mingle with the lust for adventure and romance in a gang of kindred spirits.

An organization meeting the needs of boys at this stage must recognize these immature yearnings. Every leader who knows how to manage boys at this period of growth understands these things. He realizes that the average boy does not crave for the society of girls, but he will also realize that this craving will come sooner or later—sometimes sooner. He will also understand that it is right that it should come, and that there is nothing abnormal in the moodiness and sentimentalism which will accompany the change. He will not be surprised if the one-time robust and whole-hearted club member or Scout begins to pay exaggerated attention to his toilet and his ties, that he falls off in regular attendance, that he is to be met slyly hanging about a corner, pink to the back of his ears when the club leader or the scoutmaster finds him lurking at the rendezvous.

The wise leader will know how right and simple it all is; but there are others, less liberally versed in life, to whom it will come as another shock, another disappointment that Jack is no longer wholly devoted to the club or the troop or the brigade of which he has been so keen and valuable a member. Disappointment may express itself in unwise chaff, in lack of sympathy, in latent resentment. Then the leader wonders sadly why it is that he cannot hold the lads, why boys drift away from their loyalty. If it is suggested that mixed activities with girls should be introduced into the club he is firmly convinced that it would be the surest way to wreck it.

By no means all leaders take this narrow view, but it has been shown that when the question of mixed clubs or mixed activities has been canvassed there is a tendency for men leaders to dislike the idea. Leaders of girls' clubs on the other hand in the main want their members to mix with boys. At say sixteen the sex development of girls may be compared with that of a boy of eighteen; and women seem to realize more quickly that if the incipient mating instinct is thwarted the girl is lost early to the club. It may be that women leaders appreciate the vivacity which comes when boys are admitted to their clubs.

It might be asked why men leaders do not always take the same view. Probably the main reason is that boys' clubs usually provide more for the members and demand more. They are usually open more nights of the week. Good clubs are open on at least five. But girls' clubs are in large measure content if members are present on one or two nights a week. Girls have more to tax their leisure hours: helping in the home, washing and mending their own clothes, and that important ritual of hair-washing consume several evenings. In general boys are more prone to wander out after tea; and in the ordinary worker's home, especially if there are younger children, his room is preferred to his presence. Moreover the gulf between girlhood and womanhood is less deep than that which separates the boy from the man. In its simplest form this is illustrated by the strong maternal instinct to be found in most girls, with their love of children and the make-believe of motherhood with their dolls. There is not much paternal instinct visible in the average boy.

In effect the boy's club makes a more engrossing claim on his enthusiasm and his time. It is a world different in kind from home life: while the girl finds in her club something different rather in degree from home activities. It gives her a chance of play, physical exercise, pursuit of hobbies, and companionship. It may provide an environment of beauty foreign to the home; but it is a temporary release from or a happier addition to home life, rather than another life in itself. This is an important factor in this question of mixed activities. Boys' and girls' clubs being so different in their relation to the lives of their members, the presence of boys is a natural accession to a girls' club, whereas when girls come into a boys' club they necessitate a radical change of activity involving both physical and psychological rearrangements. The bedrock fact is, however much many people dislike and deny it, that until parenthood crowns her life the girl is more dependent on the other sex for complete expression of personality than is a boy. Manhood depends less on paternity than womanhood does on maternity.

We must not overlook the psychological factors in the leaders themselves. Although a simple generalization would be absurd, except with the widest reservations, it is in the main true that the male leader tends to be more self-sufficient than the woman leader. He finds satisfaction in the vitality and busy action of his lads, while the woman leader is apt to feel that the femininity

of her club is in itself a limitation. Although this may seem to be a complete begging of the question it expresses a fundamental truth.

Despite a strong force of conservatism, especially among boys' club leaders, the tide is flowing. Even before the war there was a growing tendency in girls' clubs to make arrangements for introducing boys. The Girls' Friendly Society and the Young Women's Christian Association in many of their clubs, as well as girls' clubs under independent auspices, made a practice of organizing special evenings when boys were admitted. The commonest and most obvious activity on such occasions was dancing. A number of clubs admitted boys to membership, in some cases in a distant category which emphasized their status as guests, but they had regular nights of participation in the amenities of the club.

Occasionally to visit a club run for the opposite sex is one thing, but it does not touch the core of the problem. Life demands the mingling of the sexes, based on companionship and co-operation of man and woman. An important part of the training for adult life is to acquire the qualities basic to mating. Biological urgency will impel the majority; but the mere satisfaction of the natural instinct is not a sufficient basis for the social structure of marriage in a civilized community. It should be part of the function of education in its most extended form to prepare the young for mating. In these days boys and girls enjoy a degree of companionship unknown even a generation ago. By mixing in their adolescent activities, sharing intellectual and athletic pursuits, they learn that respect which must eventually replace the adolescent superiority of the boy and the older fashioned shrinking inferiority of the girl, sometimes expressing itself in flashy pertness.

Seeing that long tradition has established a convention of female inferiority it is natural that the demand for equality of the sexes should come from the female side; but if a sensible relationship is to be established the approach must come from both directions. Real equality of the sexes is marked by a simple relationship which expresses itself as a natural co-operation based on recognition of differences.

Juvenile organizations can make a vast contribution to the solution of this problem on its educational side by teaching the young to co-operate in healthy activities. It is necessary to recognize the limits imposed by nature. There are sports such

as boxing and wrestling which are unsuitable for girls; and there are pastimes allied to mothercraft which are peculiarly suitable for them. Nevertheless much might be done, and is being done, to bridge the gulf of tradition. Boy Scouts must learn to cook and sew; Guides acquire the ability to row, to hew and even to build. If the fullest educational results are to flow from mixing the sexes it must be by enabling them to share normal recreative activities. It helps to let them mingle at a dance and acquire the social arts of converse, and still more to compete in those games where physical inequalities do not prevent it. They may not meet on the football field, but they can pit their skill at tennis or at billiards or at darts; they can walk and cycle and row together. But the best way of all is to give them a chance to co-operate in creative activities. There is a co-educational tradition in which boys and girls have for long worked side by side in scholastic studies; but what is wanted is to enable them to pursue together various handicrafts. Boys might do more in the softer crafts and girls might join in wood and metal work. Team activities including both sexes offer even better opportunities for learning mutual respect. Drama is an excellent medium, with its opportunities for the expression of personality both male and female and its multifarious demands on differing kinds of skill, down to the simpler processes of painting flats or erecting scenery. Camping is another admirable opportunity for mixed co-operation; but it is important that boys and girls should as far as possible share all the duties that fall to the camper. The boys must play their part in washing up and the girls in pitching tents.

All this does not mean that boys and girls should not have their separate activities. The ideal arrangement for a club is to have an organization which gives easy opportunity for them to be apart and together. This involves the right kind of premises. In the first place the Youth Centre must be ample in space, and it must be so planned that the separate activities of each sex can go on independently and undisturbed, and that there is common accommodation for mixing. There ought to be separate gymnasias; but one centrally situated assembly hall, for dances, plays, music and lectures, will suffice. Both could use the canteen, some of the craft rooms, the library and the room for quiet games. But there must be sufficient separate space for the activities in which boys and girls do not mingle. And there should be separate entries and facilities for control by the man

and woman who are respectively responsible for the boys and the girls.

There are not many good examples of double clubs of this kind. There were however some such as the ample Slough Centre, the finely conceived Clubland in Camberwell (now sadly damaged), the Mary Ward Settlement in Holborn, the Bernhard Baron Settlement in Stepney, the centre at Scunthorpe erected by King George's Jubilee Trust (but diverted to military purposes before coming into commission), and a few institutions in some provincial cities. These are pioneers in a form of centre of which many are needed.

Youth Centres

An important development during the last two years has been the establishment of a considerable number of Youth Centres. These are really mixed clubs, which sprang into existence as a reply to the challenge of war-time conditions. The extent and nature of these new institutions cannot be appraised, as they have not been surveyed. It would seem that many are doing excellent work, but some appear to be satisfied with merely providing recreative counter-attractions to darkened streets, with strong emphasis on dancing. That is not without its value, but unless they develop the positive and essentially educational qualities of a good club they are only half-successes and probably they will lack holding power. It must be recognized that they are dependent on the voluntary attendance of boys and girls who are far better provided with money than ever before and can afford to indulge in commercially purveyed amusements, and who are living in a world where many of the social restraints have been loosened.

Youth Service Corps

There has been a widely expressed desire by adolescents to give some form of service to the national effort during war-time. The voluntary organizations have done much to give an outlet to this enthusiasm and in a number of localities special Youth Service Groups have sprung up. Although they are inspired by the single purpose of helping the community in its hour of need they take many forms. Some are concerned with carrying out a variety of simple but valuable services such as running errands, cleaning brasses for Fire Brigades, helping in canteens, making comforts, digging, darning and collecting salvage. Others have

more formal duties such as driving ambulances, first-aid work or regular participation in various forms of Air Raid Protection service.* Usually a Corps enrolls both sexes and in some the majority are girls. The East Suffolk Local Authority led the way with the formation of its Corps in July 1940, and since then many others have followed.†

In addition the various juvenile organizations have provided opportunities in more ways than it is possible to enumerate for their members to give service of value to the war effort.

Postscript

A recent event of importance is the introduction by order of the Minister of Labour and National Service of registration of boys and girls over sixteen and under eighteen. They are interviewed by the officers of the Ministry or of Local Authorities for the purpose of finding out whether in their leisure time they are pursuing educational courses, participating in the activities of any youth organization or giving services of direct value to the war effort. Where this is not the case they are encouraged to do so in so far as is compatible with their occupation and as they have time to spare. The whole spirit of the plan is one of friendly advice and persuasion and the interview after registration is optional.

Incidentally the information which will be obtained from the registers and the interviews will be of great value as a basis of making a more thorough survey than has ever been possible of the ways in which adolescents spend their leisure time. It will also bring to light cases of excessive work. The facts which emerge will be most useful in the planning of future policy by public authority and by voluntary organizations.‡

CHAPTER XII

LEADERSHIP

DESPITE the earnest desire of many to extend the scheme of recreative activities for youth, the circumstances of the moment present certain grave difficulties. One of the greatest, perhaps the greatest, especially in respect of boys, is the dearth of the

* See p. 118 *supra*.

† For a brief account see Board of Education Circular 1543, *Youth Service Corps*.

‡ A White Paper, *Youth Registration in 1943*, Cmd. 6446, published May, 1943, reviews the first results.

right type of leader. This had always been a serious problem, and to-day when national service of various kinds has recruited so many of the men and women best fitted to do this work the problem is seriously aggravated.

Juvenile organizations have depended mainly on voluntary service, and they prize rightly the value of the free contribution of time and devotion which has been their backbone. Scouts, Guides and Brigades continue to rely wholly on voluntary leadership, but the club movement has been turning to the paid leader. If a boys' club is to do its job adequately it should be open every day. Few are open on Sunday, which is the day when boys are apt to be in greatest need of occupying leisure, and it is not reasonable to expect voluntary, or even paid, leaders to work seven days a week. Six days a week make a demand that can rarely be met by voluntary leaders, and the more active clubs have come to realize the necessity of whole-time service. In girls' clubs the need for such sustained activity is not so great, but the bulk of clubs do not open as often as they should. There are a number of well-trained whole-time leaders of girls' clubs, but frequently they are responsible for a group of clubs, or act as peripatetic supervisors.

The value of the best voluntary leaders cannot be over-estimated. They bring to their task the priceless contribution of enthusiasm. Untrammelled by the constricting influences of a regulated system they inspire the club with their own personality. Although they may have the support and guidance of a committee they will generally have scope for expressing their own ideas and conducting their club freely. Even in a large organization such as the Scouts or Guides, which are bound by certain rules and procedure, the leader has ample room for individual expression. At any rate he has no cramping fear of losing his livelihood if he does not bow to a committee with whom he disagrees, while a paid officer must think of his career and may be tempted to compromise.

On the other hand the voluntary system is beset with the opposite danger of the feeble and the incompetent. A poor leader may continue too long to pursue his way, unconscious of better things and happily rotating in the narrow compass of his limited experience. They are probably devoted souls, striving according to their lights to do the best they can for the boys and girls in their charge. They will hold a few faithful, if uncritical, adolescents, and ruefully watch the bolder spirits ungratefully

take flight. Their resources may be small, and they feel a glow of pride at their own fortitude in making do with so little; whereas what they should be doing is to kick resolutely against circumstance and bravely demand from those who can give the material means that their organization needs and deserves.

Whether we like it or not, the care of the adolescent, if it is undertaken wholeheartedly by this country, will involve such a large bulk of service that it will not be practicable to provide it by voluntary recruitment. There was a time when the sick were nursed either freely by devoted folk or by untrained persons receiving a pittance as reward. Now this service is done by a large, organized and to a great extent trained profession. It was inevitable evolution. The change involved some loss, but much gain. The teaching profession has evolved in a somewhat similar way and no one with knowledge of the facts would deny that, taken as a whole, it is better in quality than ever it was.

One great danger attending systematization of a service is the loss of liberty for the best to express themselves. We can see results of this in our school system. A tyrannical Education Committee, or an autocratic director of education, may act as a spur to the slack, but they may blunt the edge of enthusiasm, they may prevent the best teacher from exercising the full beneficence of his influence. Wiser governors realize the danger and give a headmaster or a headmistress a considerable degree of freedom, and it is then in turn the responsibility of the heads to give scope to those assisting them. The ideal balance between freedom and control is hard to strike, but it can be done and then the results are best.

The crucial factor is generally the personality of the head himself. It depends mainly on him whether he can display those qualities which get, without formal demand, the liberty of expression that he needs. This is true in all walks of life, and it will be true in the new profession of leaders in the adolescent movement.

Personality will also be a prime qualification for success in the work. Training will be necessary, but it will not be enough if the human quality is lacking. The gift of leadership is hard to define, but it is real. Where it is present potentially, training can evince and develop it. In its final expression it involves knowledge of those who are to be led, that tact in human relationships which comes from experience and is the essence of

social wisdom, and moreover technical efficiency in whatever branch of training the leader is to undertake.

In handling the adolescent a knowledge of boys and girls is of especial importance. The pupil still at school retains under the momentum of tradition a certain tendency to accept what is. This new service will be intrinsically educational, but it will demand a different approach and different methods from those prevailing in most of our schools. These boys and girls are young workers, passing a large part of their time in the realities, often the crude realities, of life's hurly-burly. However inexperienced and callow they really are, they are immensely conscious of what they call their rights and liberty and independence. They crave for freedom when the day's work is over. They have left the confines of the school and they are no longer kids. At first at any rate we must expect rebellious poutings and even more disorderly protests against having to go back to school again when the Day Continuation system starts. Rugby had to face these difficulties, and in some of the Junior Instruction Centres there were rough scenes. But all that will pass and the raising of the school-leaving age will help.

Continuation Schools and voluntary centres need the same kind of men and women to staff them. Pending the establishment of Continuation Schools men and women with these qualities will be needed, let it be hoped in growing numbers, in the centres which are coming into existence everywhere, as well as in the different voluntary organizations. As the proportion of professional leaders increases, the good voluntary helper will be of no less value as a leavening. There is an inevitable tendency for a professional body to grow narrow, for its outlook to be constricted by the limits of its own activities. The presence of a member of another profession, of a business man or a competent housewife, will serve as a link on the upper level with the world of affairs and actuality. The wise leader will enlist as much voluntary help of this kind as possible. Incidentally in the years of struggle which undoubtedly lie ahead it will be an effective way of eking out limited financial resources. Furthermore, even if there were no such difficulties, the number of competent leaders is small. At present it is alarmingly small and even after the war it will take time to train all that are necessary.

The essence of sound educational practice is discipline. Discipline is the state which comes from an orderly habit of body, mind, and conduct. We are too apt to think of it in the

limited sense of physical gait, promptitude of bodily reaction and unquestioning obedience which are the outward appearance of the kind of training traditional in the armed forces. These things have a value, but they are not the essence of discipline. It must be remembered also that they spring from methods used for a specific and limited purpose, and that the human material to which these methods have been applied consisted in the past of men of limited education. Essential discipline is expressed in ability to rule oneself. Experience has shown that the best method of developing this quality in a community is to throw on that community the responsibility of governing itself. This does not mean that no ultimate authority is necessary. What is necessary is that this authority shall be so strong that it is enough to hold it in reserve. The weak leader will have recourse to many rules and penalties: the strong one will pervade the school or club with his presence, and the community will do the work of government and in the process acquire the quality of discipline. This implies a large measure of freedom in the community: self-government and lack of liberty cannot exist side by side. Remove the overseer with the whip and the slaves become a rabble. Take the police off the London streets, as happened some years ago, and the traffic regulates itself. But it takes more leadership to govern London than to drive slaves. In a word, for the discipline of youth we need leaders and not commanders.

But we do need leaders. While it is right that youth should have its say in the organization of its leisure activities, it would be foolish and wrong to deprive it of the guidance, and if need be the compulsion, which experience shows to be wise. The young to-day are more vocal and have more influence than ever before. This is right but often most troublesome. Free men always are more troublesome than slaves. Dr. Ley, unlike Mr. Bevin, has no need to have regard to trade unionists; the Berlin counterpart to Colonel Blimp cannot write to *The Times* and abuse the Government in the sight of all the world. But in all educational practice we must remember that boys and girls are not adult: that education is the application of the best adult experience available to enable them, within the limits of experience, to become the best that they can be. Therefore there may come a moment where the leader has to step in with his veto or his direction. The wise leader is the one who knows the precise point where this is necessary.

The response to a leader's persuasion or orders is at the same

time an indication of the discipline he has inculcated and a measure of the man himself. Boys and girls respond with extraordinary readiness to one whom they respect. Respect is a mutual quality and it is based on a fundamental sympathy. Sympathy in its turn springs from affection and understanding. The leader must be kind, but he must have within him the grit of sternness. He must be just. Nothing is likelier to undermine respect and good discipline than favouritism. Better be harsh than unjust. You may not be loved, but you will not be scorned.

The true leader is trusted. He has failed if his boys are afraid to come to him in confidence with their fears and their hopes. In short he must be a friend. Some make the fatal mistake of demeaning themselves into cheap pals. The friendship of the young and the mature is a fine thing, but futile if it is cheap. With the best intentions some leaders encourage boys to call them by their Christian names—a practice not intrinsically bad, but unnecessary and not calculated to maintain the right relationship. The keynote should be comradeship, and, in the true sense of the word, dignity.

Boys and girls are all too prone to hero-worship. Here lies a snare and a valuable possibility. The weak leader who finds pleasant the odour of the incense of adoration is in mortal danger; but the wise leader will recognize that if he keeps a firm hold on himself he can use this simple admiration as a bond in a healthy relationship. Boys and girls admire achievement, and the leader who is to teach them must have unequivocal capacity. Be it physical training, a handicraft, drama, camping, the leader who can do the thing will gain admiration and respect. Pretence is of no avail. Say if you do not know the answer or if you cannot do it: pretend and you are lost. Therefore it is important that to qualities of personality the leader should add technical proficiency.

The present situation is that there are few leaders of the right type available, especially in view of the rapidly growing demand. The question of training therefore looms large. One rich source of leadership is among boys and girls themselves. The ultimate authority and wisdom of an adult are necessary, but older members of a club or centre ought to take a large share in managing their own affairs and leading the rest. A central idea in the Rover and Ranger systems is the training of those who are mature enough to assist in the Scout and Guide movements. For long it has been the practice in many clubs to pick out for

service the boys and girls who show that they have the elements of leadership. An important matter is training, and the dearth of adult helpers consequent upon the war has given a stimulus to this practice. Youth Committees up and down the country, as well as the various juvenile organizations themselves, are organizing courses of training. The National Association of Boys' Clubs arranges a series of week-end conferences in different counties and follows these up by a central course of a week when boys live together, taking part in lectures, discussions and intensive instruction in some branch of club activity which interests them particularly. It may be drama, physical training, a handicraft or club management.

Out of this training may emerge some who will find in youth leadership their life's work. But we must not imagine that the care of adolescents can be committed to enthusiasts to whom we have given a short course or two, even if they have a natural aptitude for the work. If this work is to be carried on as seriously as it deserves it must be committed to men and women fully equipped for the heavy demands it makes. Those who are responsible for training boys and girls in schools should themselves be properly educated and thereafter specially trained for their task. This involves a secondary education followed by a two-year course in a training college or four years in a university. The Day Continuation School will need no less well qualified teachers than any other kind, although the necessary qualifications may be somewhat different. The teachers or leaders must be just as well prepared and in some respects the demands on them will be more exacting. The same thing is true of a Youth Centre. The head should be a person with as much culture and education as the head of any school, although he may not need the same specialized academic qualifications, and he must, like any head of a school, have a staff of well-trained assistants. If music, physical training, handicrafts and drama are to be part of the activities of the institution, there must be some skilled person in charge of each.

Eventually in large institutions full-time teachers may be the usual thing; but in the meantime the practice will no doubt continue of sending experts on a circuit of groups. Some of the juvenile organizations have been developing this system for several years. A number of Local Authorities have given invaluable service in this way, and various charitable bodies, such as King George's Jubilee Trust, the Carnegie Trust and the

Pilgrim Trust, have given considerable help along these lines. In this respect Education Committees have followed different policies. Some have refused to supply teachers to voluntary organizations, holding the narrow view that if young people want these things they must attend regular evening courses. Or they have imposed procedure of a kind suitable for a school, but impracticable, or at any rate difficult to carry out, in a club. They will insist on registers, and on onerous terms regarding regularity and maintenance of numbers. Or they will underrate the educational value of certain activities and refuse to assist them as extravagant frills. Other committees take a more generous view and supply numbers of teachers. These also vary. Some make charges, and these are diverse. Others supply teachers free. It is time that something was done to regularize practice, and one hopes that the placing of responsibility on Youth Committees will lead Local Authorities to view the whole question more liberally and to arrive at some common policy in handling it.

Still the main problem remains. In addition to volunteers and part-time instructors there will be a need for men and women devoting their whole service to the Day Continuation School, the club or the Youth Centre. We were told over twenty years ago that it was impossible to start Day Continuation Schools because there was no supply of teachers. We may be sure that the same old bogey will reappear. We must be ready for it this time. The answer is twofold. In the first place we shall have to make shift in many cases. The ideal leaders and teachers will not be available in sufficient quantities. Let us face that at once. But we must not wait. We must get together the best material possible when the war effort is demobilized, and there will be much of it that is good. Many men and women in the services and in industry have acquired through their war-time activities valuable experience in leadership and have widened their knowledge of people and of life. That will be a sound foundation. Having picked our material, we must give these potential leaders short, intensive courses of training in the technical requirements of leadership in juvenile organizations.

Undoubtedly danger lies there. There will be a tendency to set low standards and it will be difficult afterwards to raise them. But the danger of delay is greater. Moreover the service will gain considerably by the infusion of men and women who bring into it a knowledge and appreciation of realities; and this con-

tribution will go a long way to compensate for the shortcomings they may have in the more formal kind of education and the technicalities which a leader of youth should have at command.

As a long-term policy we must devise a system of training. This will demand a great deal of thought and it is none too soon now to be taking counsel. As in the training of members of any profession there must be a blend of general culture and vocational instruction and practice. Be it said at once that culture is not acquired only in academies, and to the full never in academies alone. If culture is, as Matthew Arnold said, "the harmonious expansion of all the powers that constitute the beauty and worth of human nature", then the only school with a curriculum wide enough for its teaching is life itself. But the academies have a great contribution to make and it behoves the universities and colleges, which are responsible for training the members of the teaching profession, to recognize and meet the need, which will soon be clamant, for a somewhat new kind of teacher.

It is necessary to realize that the teacher or leader of whom we speak should be different in some respects from the school teacher we know, but the difference is only specific within the same genus. There will be many kinds and grades of leader, just as there are of teachers in our existing system of education. If adolescent youth is to be served properly in Day Continuation Schools, Youth Centres and clubs, there will be the leader with fullest university training; there will be the specialists in music, drama, art, handicrafts and physical training, trained in their appropriate ways. But common to all must be training in the art of handling and guiding the young human material under their hand to fashion.

To practise themselves in this skill they must have an opportunity of seeing the work done by the best practitioners and under their guidance of undertaking the work themselves. The neophyte must go through a practical course analogous to the present school practice of a teacher, the clinical work of a medical student or the articles of an aspirant lawyer. For some years the National Association of Girls' Clubs has organized a system of practical training and the National Association of Boys' Clubs devotes considerable attention to meeting the need. But neither has had sufficient resources to develop its schemes on a large scale. It is most desirable that the universities and also the Training Colleges for Teachers should realize their responsibili-

ties in the matter, and that they should make use of the experience which the club movement has at its command and co-operate with it to the fullest extent on the practical side. The Board of Education and Education Authorities should also recognize that they have a duty to assist schemes of training financially.

With finance we reach another most important phase of the question. In the long run a profession must depend largely on the means that it provides for its members to make a living. This is not to reduce it to a sordid matter of shillings and pence. It is true that to the finest, noblest service financial reward may be irrelevant. There is no cash motive in winning the Victoria Cross. Saint Francis did not bargain for his hire. But life is such that its services cannot be staffed fully by heroes and saints, who, although more plentiful than some of us surmised two years ago, are insufficient in quantity to run society. We must use ordinary folk with a sense of duty and self-sacrifice maybe, and also with the plain and laudable desires for marriage, parenthood and decent comfort. Common citizens want and deserve a reasonable standard of living. The measure of that standard is salary.

To-day the pay of the few paid full-time leaders of clubs is much too low. Salaries in the teaching profession are far from princely, but they are much above those in youth organizations. That must be rectified. We should get things into better proportion and realize that the wardenship of a Youth Centre demands a man of quality and training, and that his job is comparable at least with the headship of a Senior or Continuation School. He should therefore receive comparable pay, have the same advantages in respect of pension and security of tenure, and be guaranteed his leisure. The staffing of clubs of less ambitious character is a more difficult matter. There will be few that can provide a salary attractive enough to recruit the right type of leader unless there are prospects of promotion. Another difficulty is the desirability of having young men and women for work of this kind. Physically it exacts more than most middle-aged people can give. It is therefore important to find a means by which club leadership can be linked on to other kinds of work which will absorb leaders passing out of club work. The obvious solution is to graft it on to the teaching profession to which it naturally belongs. Such an idea may alarm many and it would be alarming if it implied the doctrine that any

teacher could be a leader. On the contrary it is the *métier* of only the few, but given careful selection and training there is no reason why a teacher should not at a certain stage in his career spend some years in this work. It would have to be an obligation on school governors and Education Committees to see that his future was not prejudiced and that he had a fair chance of reabsorption into the ordinary ranks of school-teachers.

A satisfactory solution of the question how to staff the expanded youth work to which we look forward, in Continuation Schools, Youth Centres, clubs and other juvenile organizations is the key to the whole matter. On it the service will depend more than on anything else. There is no simple answer. Many means must be used: professional services must be strengthened by the aid of volunteers. This will make for economy: it will also supplement the amount of leadership available and introduce those elements of outside experience in the wider world of affairs which will do much to keep the service in touch with realities.

CHAPTER XIII

CONDUCT AND RELIGION

It is in the natural course of things that crabbed age shall deplore the decay of the times and the lamentable manners and conduct of youth. We have already suggested that in some directions conduct has improved and we reiterate our firm belief that such is the fact. Whatever the figures of delinquency and the publicity given to youthful waywardness, and however much we older ones are annoyed from time to time by the mannerless ways of youth and its apparent callousness, let us look back before we frame a condemnatory judgment. An honest comparison of what we can glean of the past with what those in a position to speak know of youth to-day will leave the credit side with the moderns.

This does not mean that youth is by any means perfect, that it does not exhibit most unpleasant and unsocial traits. As I write in my room in a residential part of London at this moment some boys are making the evening hideous with their raucous voices, but I am saved from a condemnation of this annoying conduct as a modern evil by remembering all the other old fogies through the ages who have been so vexed.

The truth is that education, truncated though it be, has had a marked effect on conduct. There is its direct effect on the child and there is the influence which was exercised on the parents in their day and is now reflected in the child. A great deal is said about the decay of parental influence, and with justice. It is no less true that probably at no time has parenthood been taken so seriously and exercised so carefully as to-day. It is no new thing for ignorant, selfish or silly parents in all classes to spoil or neglect their children. What is new is to find thousands of working-class mothers and middle-class parents seriously striving to gain the knowledge which child welfare organizations, schools and the pages of various papers disseminate regarding the best methods for the care and upbringing of children. After registering dissent from the pessimistic view that youth is going to the bad, let us examine in more detail certain aspects of conduct which call for special attention.

We have looked already at some of the favourite pastimes of adolescent youth, deploring the fact that to so large an extent they are passive and uncreative. There is no doubt that youth has won an extent of freedom greater than it ever had before. The tide has flowed steadily for long, but it was the last war that opened the floodgates. For a generation before that the agencies of liberation were weakening the rigidity of parental repression in the Victorian home. Ibsen had started to undermine bourgeois ideals and his influence had affected all northern Europe. Samuel Butler and Bernard Shaw had directed the attack in this country. In the first decade of this century the cry was vocal. The theatre was one of its loudest sounding-boards with men like Granville Barker, Hankin, Stanley Houghton and a number of other dramatists. It is true that their attack was directed mainly against middle-class traditions, but these traditions were strongly influential in the working class which was a powerful element in the nonconformist, liberal thought and practice of the times and one of the mainstays of respectability in the social structure. It must also be remembered that there was a considerable section, especially in large urban communities, which lived in conditions where middle-class and artisan respectability had little meaning, and that in this submerged element there raged crude passions largely uncontrolled by the inhibitions of respectability. Social reform has done much to remove or ameliorate the conditions which were basic to these phenomena. Improved housing, health services and education,

betterment of conditions of work and the raising of the standards of living have all contributed to a reduction of the evils which sprang from poverty and ignorance.

Any one wishing to make a comparative assessment of the conduct of the youth of to-day and of half a century ago must discriminate between different social strata. It is only a half judgement that compares the middle-class youth of then and now. We must also compare the vast numbers who then were outside the pale of Victorian respectability with the boys and girls of a similar section of the community to-day whose standards are much higher than those of their predecessors in the same social stratum.

No system of education is worth the name if it fails to recognize the need of training the young in moral standards and right conduct. These standards are of their nature incapable of precise and dogmatic definition; but there is a sufficient body of accepted ethics to serve as a basis for moral education. It is a prime function of education to teach these by precept and by the more potent method of induced practice. The first duty rests on parents; but schools, clubs and all juvenile organizations are concerned with this responsibility. Nor is there any evidence that they shrink from it.

The main ground for justifiable criticism is the disproportionate stress which may be laid on personal at the expense of social morality. This is only an aspect of the one-sidedness of our whole social outlook, expressed vividly in our educational practice in so far as it underestimates the need for developing in youth the qualities and habits essential to good citizenship. It must not be thought that the importance of kindness, honesty and justice is forgotten; but these moral virtues tend to be developed as personal qualities in such a way as to obscure their meaning and value as elements of community. This is due to many causes of which the most important are the personal basis of protestant theology and the economic doctrine of getting on, which together have fashioned our way of thinking and living for centuries.

It is notoriously dangerous to generalize in matters of conduct, but any attempt at a description of the manner of life of young people must be general. It must also be vague seeing that only a thorough and minute investigation would produce material for an exact picture. There are however certain features which stand out more clearly than others. Delinquency we have spoken

of. That is an expression of gross departure from the standards of good social relationship and, as we have seen, it is highly exceptional among adolescent boys and almost non-existent among girls.

This does not mean that the rest are perfect. On the contrary there is vast scope for moral training in the widest sense. It had been the fashion of late years to say that youth had gone soft and selfish, and there was foundation for this opinion. Youth was certainly lacking in direction, and it was often crudely egoistical and materialistic in its outlook. But is this unnatural and is it new? Moreover is it peculiar to youth? Lack of direction and selfishness are evils to which youth is prone and in a world of fierce competition and harsh utilitarian values it is likely that youth will seek to satisfy its ambition with the things after which it sees all the world hungering.

Gambling

We have referred already to the element of thrill which inspires so much of the commercial amusement on which we batten. It is this which makes gambling so universally popular and youth is caught in the vortex. A love of thrill is not bad in itself. It is a piquant sauce of life. It may give courage to the adventurer and the knight-errant. But it is baneful when it produces an obsessing thirst, for no sauce is a wholesome beverage. And there is no question that in our modern world of swift-moving machinery, speedy travel and repetitive manufacture there have entered into life certain elements which produce an excessive thirst for thrills. But the forms in which they are indulged are mostly artificial. The thrill of the venturer who stands upon a peak in Darien, be he traveller, artist or scientific searcher, is a very different thing from what boys and girls buy for a few pence at the pictures or the dog-track, in filling up the pools list or in what Mr. Kurt Hahn has called the unearned speed of the motor car. That is the point: most of the thrills that we know are unearned. We buy them cheap.

Youth will have its thrill and gambling is one of the common ways of getting it. The ethics of gambling is open to much debate and its discussion is apt to arouse violent opposition of views. There are however certain principles which seem to be unimpeachable. The first is that good citizenship depends on the basic belief that a man's reward should be commensurate with his effort: that it is impossible to build a healthy society

on the belief that it is worth while getting something for nothing. Ultimately that is the ground on which gambling must be condemned. It may be argued that an occasional lapse from this pure doctrine will do no one any harm. In ethics the element of degree must be admitted. There is morally a difference between the man who occasionally exceeds in his cups and the soaker who is habitually drunk. We may even go so far as to say that honesty may be given a little latitude, dangerous as the doctrine is. If I pick a flower which belongs to my neighbour or travel a stage further on the bus than my fare permits I am a thief and I am guilty of moral turpitude. But it would be an abnormally consistent moralist who would allow no difference between my guilt and that of a professional pickpocket or safe-breaker. We must therefore consider the extent of a bad habit, and the seriousness of gambling is that to-day it has become so widespread.

A working boy can scarcely avoid the pressure which bears upon him to gamble in some form. It is all round him and he is apt to be looked on as a prig or a baby if he dares to stand out. Probably in many cases it does not occur to him that there is any reason why he should stand out. One does find boys who say it's a fool's game. Probably they are the fortunate misfortunates who have been bitten early and hard and have learned what it is to be a mug.

The pressure to gamble is undoubtedly strong. In firms there are agents of bookmakers at work clandestinely to induce as many as possible to bet. Vast sums are spent by the promoters of pools to persuade a gullible public to buy the thrills they sell at great profit to themselves. Dog-racing interests before the war gave special inducements to the young by reducing or waiving the entry fee for them and even by making arrangements for cheap or free transport.

It is the pools promoters who have exercised the most pressure. Their methods have been diabolically ingenious. In the first place they have undertaken expensive publicity in the Press and have made the Press their interested partners. However pure the Press may be it is tempting to refrain from criticizing an activity, even if you should regard it as harmful, when it is worth thousands a year to you. It is recorded that on one single day before the war four morning papers carried £18,000 worth of advertisement of the football pools.* The State was

* *The Public and the Football Pools*, a pamphlet reprinted from *The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post* in 1937, exposes in detail the facts concerning the pool betting business.

also sucked into the vortex. It is believed that the Post Office derived a revenue of £3,000,000 a year from the traffic. It is significant that the Post Office encouraged this form of gambling by selling postal orders at a discount for the convenience of the regular pools speculator. Books of a dozen shilling postal orders carried a poundage of 9d. instead of the normal 1d. for each shilling order.

The promoters realized that they were opposed by a solid mass of disapproval. As well as using heavy artillery they sapped with cunning. Make the pools a cheery parlour game. Keep the boys at home, licking their pencils with father and mother. Paint the picture to look like a respectable homelike conversation-piece. If you start a pools club, girls, you will be spreading happiness and brightening your circle; you will be the popular one blessed by all your friends for the cheer and good fortune you introduce into their drab lives. True, not every one will get a prize: but somebody must and it may be you. Actually young Fred Jones in your own town of Millborough won £100 last week, as you may have noticed from the special advertisements with which we were generous enough to plaster Millborough on that occasion at great expense to ourselves; and next week it may just as likely as not be you or one of your friends who will be the lucky one. We do not want to damp your enthusiasm by mentioning that it has been calculated that your mathematical chance of winning a 12 results pool is 1 in 500,000, or 1 in 14,000,000 in a 15 results pool. What we want to impress on you is that somebody must win and it may be you. Moreover we are very different from those knavish bookies and all that racing, sharpening crowd that mother has so wisely taught you to shun. We are honest benefactors. It's all above-board. The public cannot be robbed by our clean, open method. Again we do not bother you with the fact that a few dozen of us who help you dear English folk to have happier week-ends and to win huge sums of money, ourselves pull about £2,000,000 a year out of you—you mugs. In a word they have succeeded in making the pools respectable with the result that anyone who dares to suggest that there is any harm in them is likely to be called a fool.

It has been estimated that the national bill for gambling before the war was of the order of £500,000,000 a year. The seriousness of the problem lies therefore in its extent as well as in its nature. We were a nation in which people gambled: we have become a nation of gamblers. And youth is caught help-

lessly in the current. It is true that bookmakers are prohibited by law from inducing minors to bet, and no one under eighteen may use a totalisator. But the officials in charge do not insist on seeing a birth certificate. As for the pools it is not impossible to get an adult to sign for you and in any case your signature may not indicate your age exactly.

The question is in some ways different in respect of youth and of adults. Boys and girls are apt to be intoxicated more easily by the excitement of betting. With them it can more readily become an obsession. The gamble is apt to be an all-absorbing interest, devouring their thoughts, sapping their powers of attention and application. Whereas an adult makes a bet and puts it in its place in relation to his life and work, a boy will live for nothing else until the result has come. If, as is likely, he has lost, the mood of excitement is succeeded by depression which he seeks to alleviate by another fling at fortune.

There are certain essential factors which must be considered in judging this matter. The first is the extent to which the habit has gripped the nation. The second is that gambling in its most popular forms has grown only because of the pressure of publicity by interested promoters who want the profits they can make. The third is that for youth there are dangers in gambling greater than those that beset the adult.

It is dangerous and generally unwise for the State to attempt to act as dictator of morals. You cannot make people virtuous by law; but you can very properly reduce the ease of indulging in practices which are inimical to the common weal. Drunkenness as such is not punishable; although consequent acts may come within the arm of the law; but there are limitations on the strength of liquor, on the freedom of selling it and the times when it may be consumed in public. No legislation will abolish gambling and the ills which flow from it; but much can be done to reduce the evil. In the first place it must be remembered that football pools were legalized only by an amendment pushed into the Betting and Lotteries Act, 1934. They could be abolished without serious difficulty if Parliament had the courage, and there is evidence to suggest that the promoters have realized that their profitable business might become so great a scandal that it could be curbed and have made preparations to transfer their activities to fields of more legitimate commerce. But what could and certainly should be done is to prohibit the specious propaganda by which the public is bludgeoned or cajoled into

pouring money into the private coffers of a few individuals who take no risk of any kind.

If it is urged that it is not the business of the State to protect fools it can only be said that the practice of the legislature is against such a contention. Many kinds of deception by which fools are apt to be tricked are legally prevented. Card-sharping, adulteration of food, watering milk, the sale of dangerous drugs, gambling saloons, lotteries, false labelling of goods, false weights are all illegal, although any sensible person might be able to protect himself against them by the exercise of a reasonable degree of nous. Make advertisements of gambling illegal, in other words attack not gambling but its profitable exploitation, and it would be reduced to a very large extent. In that way you are prohibiting not what some may regard as an unreprehensible private act, but its encouragement as a commercial enterprise. Fornication is not illegal but the keeping of brothels is.

We are concerned with the question as it affects youth, and there can be no denial that gambling has become the greatest single evil to which the young are liable. That it is an evil is unquestionable in the light of all the evidence of those who see the extent to which youth is captivated by the lust for gambling and the demoralizing effects which it has on them.

We have spoken mainly of the football pools because these are at the same time so widespread and so generally accepted as an innocent pastime. But there are other forms of gambling to which youth is prone. Probably horse-racing does not attract them much. It is too remote a thrill to bet on something of which you know little. Football is within the scope of the young imagination even if the bet is on an event which you are not witnessing. Greyhound-racing is more direct in its appeal. There are plenty of tracks in the vicinity of most large towns and a boy has little difficulty in attending if he is so inclined. Distance and cost are not serious obstacles and it does not take the time involved in a horse-race meeting. The thrill is also more concentrated without the long intervals that make horse-racing so boring to some. A boy wants quick returns in excitement. That is why motor-cycle racing is so popular in the places where there are courses. It is noteworthy that the promoters of this sport have kept it wholly clear of betting, and that nevertheless it is popular with youth. It is doubtful whether greyhound-racing would be popular except as a medium for betting. It is certain that it is for the profits from the totalisator

that the promoters find their undertaking worth running.

Another pernicious form of gambling of a petty kind is the fun fair with its gaming machines and pin-tables. To a considerable extent these are merely games developed from the old-fashioned bagatelle, where a mechanical device is put into operation by inserting a coin, and skill is almost wholly eliminated. The lure of this intrinsically harmless pastime seems to be immense, and exploitation of these games has become a most profitable enterprise. At first these machines were to be found at the seaside and in fairs. Now they are common in cheaper restaurants in towns and in wayside cafés; and special fun fairs have been developed. These are generally empty shops stocked with machines. Before the war they were luridly illuminated and attractively open to the street. In so far as these games are merely played for the penny which sets the mechanism going they are within the law; but the practice has developed of offering trivial prizes such as a packet of cigarettes, a cheap watch, a worthless piece of jewellery, or some other inexpensive gewgaw. It has been ruled that this makes them illegal, but the method of getting the law in motion is clumsy, except in Scotland, and the result is that many of these gaming machines persist. If the machine gives a return in coin, like the so-called fruit machines, it is indisputably illegal and against these the police generally act promptly,* but for those which only carry a prize in kind the legal process is more cumbersome.

Nevertheless fun fairs have been stamped out of many provincial cities by the police, but in London the authorities for some inscrutable reason have not acted. The result is that it is a special evil in London, and the traffic appears to be extremely profitable. Before the war there was one fun fair in the West End for which it was worth the while of the promoter to pay an annual rent of £14,000; and £150 a week was paid for another. Various estimates have been made of the number of gaming machines in the country, varying from 300,000 to a million. There are certainly a great number. Most of them come from the United States and 63,545 were imported in the three years 1934-6. Probably wear and tear, difficulty of repair and replenishment, and destruction of premises and gear have reduced the number. Even if they provide a pastime for adults which is at worst vapid and wasteful, they are a real evil for boys and to some extent for girls. Boys will waste several shillings in

* There are a number in operation in transport cafés, undisturbed by the police.

an evening in this futile amusement. Some years ago I watched a boy spend 28 pence determined out of obstinacy or bravado to obtain a packet of five cigarettes. Moreover some of these fun fairs in London are haunts of vicious men to whom innocent boys are liable to fall a prey.

Gambling will never be wholly eradicated. In so far as it is a real evil it must be dealt with from two directions. The most important way is to educate the boy by developing other desires which drive out the lust for gambling and by making him realize its futility and waste. At the same time the State ought by legal prohibition to curb the promotion of gambling as a profitable commercial activity.

Drink

There was a time when drink was a serious menace to the young. It was to a great extent a class evil, and tempted mainly the poor. To-day, or at any rate until the outbreak of war, it might be said truly that very few boys and girls in their teens were given to drinking alcohol. For a number of causes it had ceased to be the fashion. The chief was that other more attractive ways of spending their scanty means were available. A boy with a shilling to spare would find much more satisfaction in going to a cinema than to a public-house. The adult habitué is impelled by a desire for drink, for society or for an escape from the discomfort of a crowded, comfortless home. The boy does not crave for drink until he has developed a taste; and the softer, sweeter refreshment of a milk-bar or a coffee shop is more to the palate and the purse of the average boy and girl. The society they want is found more readily in the street, the dance-hall or the club.

Although reliable figures are not available there is a belief among those in a position to know that during the last year or two drinking has increased among boys and girls. The girls favour short drinks like port and cocktails and are developing a habit of beer-drinking. Never in their lives have most young people had so much money and so little on which they can spend it. You cannot use up all your money on cinemas and dancing, and clothes are severely rationed. To this add the darkness which in winter drives people off the streets, and it is only to be expected that many who never frequented public-houses seek them as the only retreat. For girls there is the extra lure of thousands of soldiers who are to a large extent away

from home and dependent mainly on the public-house for shelter and company during their free hours. Excessive drinking is perhaps inevitable in war-time, but more might be done, as for instance by the prohibition of treating which was imposed during the last war with some success. However, the only satisfactory way of handling the question is to set up preferable counter-attractions. The best way of overcoming a bad habit is to drive it out by a good one.*

Sex

* No force is more potent in adolescence than the rising tide of sex desire, with all its attendant emotions. It is the time of life to which this stage of development naturally belongs, the period bridging the gulf between the child and the adult. In some the change takes place calmly and scarcely perceived, at least by the observer; for others it is a tumultuous passage. Not all the attendant emotions are consciously linked with sex desire, but they may be violent none the less. Adolescence is the age of moodiness and extremes of feeling: sentimentalism and cruelty, boorishness and devoted friendship may hold sway in different individuals or by turn in the same one.

As adolescence develops there is a natural interest in the physical phenomena of sex, and in some way or another boys and girls get knowledge. For many it is doubtless fragmentary and crudely acquired, picked up maybe as a guilty secret from a knowing pal. Of late years efforts have been made to propagate the idea of sex education. The fact must be faced that parents in general will not undertake the task. This may be truer in the case of boys than of girls for whom the facts of sex are so obtrusive that mothers must give some instruction in the ordinary matters of hygiene. There is also a stupid prejudice on the part of many parents against the explanation of these things by teachers. Prudery regards these matters as improper and not nice subjects of frank discussion. The efforts of many educationists and the propagandist activities of such organizations as the British Social Hygiene Council and the Sex Education Society are doing much to break down barriers of convention, and gradually the matter is being faced more sensibly. Girls and boys are being taught those things which are involved in sex as a part of the explanation of their own bodily mechanism

* See J. M. Brew, *Young People in Public-Houses*, London Diocesan Church of England Temperance Society, 1942.

and functions. Instead of making this instruction a mysterious and perhaps alarming initiation into unspeakable secrets it is treated as a normal extension of knowledge, important in its bearing on life, character and conduct, but essentially natural. Parents also are being educated in the part which they should play in the guidance of their boys and girls through the difficult stages of sex discovery.

Of the sex habits of youth it is impossible to speak with any degree of accuracy, for the reason that no one really knows. Misguided attempts have been made to discover, but clearly it is a subject on which mass questioning is most undesirable. Observers give widely different opinions, which are apt to be coloured subjectively. It is obviously true that there is much greater freedom of companionship between boys and girls than there was even twenty years ago; but whether that has involved an increase of sexual relationship is a matter for mere speculation. Some think that wider knowledge of the use of contraceptives has had an influence, but this may easily be over-estimated. It is almost certainly true to say that there is divergence of practice according to circumstance. What prevails in one town may not hold in another, according to the opportunities afforded and to the counter-attractions available. There was evidence of considerable laxity among boys and girls in their upper teens in the conditions of promiscuous sleeping prevalent in air-raid shelters in London during the winter and spring of 1940-41. It was patent to any observer. It does not follow that it was more than a transference of conduct which previously prevailed above ground but was less easily noticed. There seems to be no reason to share the alarm of some moralists who think that youth is going to the dogs and that sexual licence has increased rapidly. At the same time there is probably more sex experience among adolescents than some simple folk imagine.

Religion

A problem inherent in any educational system is the question of religious teaching. The tradition of centuries has linked education to formal religion, but in the last two generations the attitude to religion has undergone such a radical change that the problem has become extremely difficult to solve. Although there are from time to time outcries against our godless system of education, in fact religion is taught more in our schools than

many realize, and in many respects it is taught more intelligently than it was when religious instruction was accepted as a matter of course. The trouble is that the whole question has been bedevilled by denominational acrimony and around it raged a struggle not for duty to teach religion but for the prerogative of inculcating a creed. We have to distinguish between theology and religion before we can discuss the problem calmly, and to recognize that it is not one creed alone which is the privileged path to heaven. It is perhaps the secularist who can understand the problem of religious education more clearly, because more dispassionately, than the ardent religious partisan.

Common ground for almost all educationists is the recognition that at the highest level of personality there is that quality or essence which we call the soul of man. Beyond the intellect and the emotions is a craving for those higher experiences which belong to the spirit. To define them is not possible; to deny them is vain. They are not wholly separated from intellectual capacity; the emotions cling to them inseparably. Intertwined with these higher urgencies are the values of life which constitute the substance of moral conduct. Love and honour, truth, justice, self-sacrifice and loyalty are more than the fictions of tradition. Admiration of these things as we move among our fellows, reverence of goodness and beauty beyond our own achievement, awe in the presence of greatness outside the confines of self, are the natural motions of the spirit. To express them is to worship. Religions are concerned with giving them form and shape whether it be in lonely silent adoration or in the corporate ritual of ecclesiastical pomp. Worship is the recurrent but not continuous expression of the highest religious experience; conduct is the medium of its daily exercise, distilled into common thoughts and acts.

Morals depend also on philosophic understanding, and trained practice. Here lies a field in which the teacher, whoever that be, has an important part to play. Moral practice implies a good habit, and this will spring largely from the influence exercised by environment. As evil communications corrupt, so good example induces good habits. The adolescent is easily moved by the conduct of those around him; he is plastic to the shaping force of environment, even more than to didactic suasion. That does not mean that moral teaching goes for naught. It should form a part of all education, but it must be applied with skill and tact. It will be less effective where it is

specifically didactic than where it is woven into and integrated with the whole system of training.

It is unjust to suggest, as some do, that our educational system ignores this important function. That youth is not perfect is as true as it is natural, and inevitable. It is not true to say that youth is deteriorating morally. Abundant evidence points to an opposite conclusion. Although it may be that the schools do not teach theology with the simple assurance of a less questioning age, probably there is more true religion taught and a higher standard of moral conduct attained.

We have suggested that there is more formal religion taught in the schools than many believe. It is certainly a fact that almost all the juvenile organizations put religion in the forefront of their objects. The National Association of Boys' Clubs, which speaks for a large section, avers its emphatic belief in its necessity. It has laid this down in clear terms: "A club is not treating its members fairly if it fails to recognize their spiritual needs. Whatever its religious atmosphere or background may be, it must teach that man's mind and spirit dwell in his body, and that man—and we would say God—must be served in the beauty of that Holiness which is wholeness, that is the harmonious development of all men's faculties."*

The National Association of Girls' Clubs declares itself a religious movement, and the large majority of girls' clubs are in direct affiliation with a religious body of some kind. The Brigades all make connection with a church a fundamental requirement. The Scouts and Guides are secular, but they both give religion a place of importance in their tenets, and a considerable number of groups in both organizations are under the direct control of a church.

An organization which caters for a voluntary membership is free in one respect to introduce as much religious training and observance as it likes. On the other hand a leader faces the danger of scaring off or driving away boys and girls who are timid lest they are being got at for the good of their souls. Many of them are averse from anything that seems to be a trap to catch them and force them to go to church. It is probably a less serious risk with girls, but for the leader of a boys' organization it is a matter calling for tact and restraint. Nevertheless it is true that some of the most virile and successful boys' clubs, such as Clubland in Camberwell or the Bernhard Baron

* *Principles and Aims of the Boys' Club Movement*, p. 11.

St. George's Club in Stepney, are essentially religious. In these, as in many others, religious observance is an important, although not oppressive, factor in club life.

There is a strong expression of feeling nowadays that the teaching of religion in schools should be increased; but increase will be fruitful only if methods are improved. This, as we have said, has taken place already to a large extent. Religious knowledge, or divinity or scripture, as it was variously dubbed, was often a mere blur on the timetable. To use the Bible as a textbook for Hebrew history or for memorization, or even to utilize the Gospels as a medium of examination, is not necessarily the best way of familiarizing the child with the principles of Christianity which, despite all human failure, are the basis of our morality and the essence of that culture which we, at any rate in the democracies, hold to be our richest heritage. Millions to-day believe them to be worth more than life itself; and it is for that reason that with renewed force has sprung up a demand that the rising generation should be initiated more effectively into the meaning of that religion which embodies these principles.

There is a welcome unanimity among the churches, very different from the bitterness of the struggle over religious education forty years ago. The result may be that the energy spent on inter-denominational feuds will be directed to enriching our educational practice. The first development will be no doubt improvement of religious teaching for children at day schools. When Day Continuation Schools come into being the problem will arise afresh.

Religious teaching of the child is a relatively simple matter. A child tends to be unquestionably receptive. In adolescence wonder awakens: a more critical mood replaces undisturbed acquiescence. The growing youth begins to perceive the realities of life, to evaluate morality in terms of experience as well as of doctrine. As religion comes to mean more and to evoke more vivid emotions, so it raises doubts and fears, which are not going to be allayed by learning the genealogy of the Kings of Israel or memorizing the Creed; not even by attending church regularly. If religion is to survive the buffetings of these seething years into manhood and womanhood it must have a quality of compulsive reality and vitality which integrate it with experience and conduct. If we answer honestly the question how far the churches have succeeded in this task we are bound to admit that it is to a very small extent. If we take as a simple

measure the number of adolescents who attend any form of organized religious worship it would probably be an exaggeration to put it as high as 10 per cent. And of that small minority a number attend perforce and only await the day when they can escape compulsion.

A large part of our troubles to-day spring from the fact that men have lost direction. It may be true that life at best is a business of trial and error: that we are creatures moving through the half-light, impelled to go on not knowing whither. But without any goal we are mere aimless wanderers: we may scale the heights; we may stumble into the morass. Even if we hold that there is no ultimate goal, we must at least have a nearer purpose to keep us on a straight path. It is a new phenomenon for mankind to be unsure of any clear values and purpose in life. The development of scientific thought in the nineteenth century created a critical state of mind which destroyed the accepted faiths and in their place left a vacuum. But life demands a positive belief, and if old beliefs are wrecked, new and perhaps worse ones will fill the intolerable void. Life must have at least some apparent purpose. Democracy has created certain values, but they have been largely coloured by the utilitarian philosophy which has dominated thought for a century. At its best democracy has pinned its faith to humanitarian ideals and social betterment; at the worst it has been inspired by the aim of getting on. It has been largely a selfish philosophy, a doctrine of increasing comfort, albeit in its finest expression the increasing comfort of the unprivileged masses. That faith has inspired noble lives which have devoted themselves to the cause of human betterment. The achievement has been neither negligible nor mean.

A new wave has swept over Europe which is mighty with the passions of lust for power and cruelty. It has swept aside the culture of democracy and the Christian morality. But it has a force beyond any known for centuries, not because it is good, but because it was positive in a negative world. The strength of Fascism, Nazism, or whatever we care to call it, derives from its clarity of purpose and assurance of belief. Its very certainty impels enthusiasm among its followers, especially youth which craves for a sure rock of belief as a foothold in the swirl of life into which nature plunges every one of us as we emerge from the quietude of childhood. That these false faiths should demand self-sacrifice makes them the more compulsive to youth which ever finds satisfaction in giving generously to an ideal beyond

self. This particular force must die away for the very fact that it is compact of lies and that it contains within itself the seed of self-destruction. If it were not reined by physical force greater than its own, it would nevertheless perish in the end because it is contrary to the essential needs of human life and at last another young shoot of burgeoning strength would thrust off the dead leaf. To await this process would involve too much suffering of the human spirit as well as of the human body; and so a large part of mankind has resorted to force to put a speedy end to it. When we have overcome this evil thing the victory will be barren if we return to a life of merely striving for greater comfort and more luxurious ease.

These candidates for world power thought that the democracies had gone soft and were too deeply sunk in ease to resist an attempt to dominate them by force. They know now how badly they miscalculated, but they were dangerously near being right. Literature and art reflected the negative attitude which dominated current thought. Cleverness and cynicism were held more admirable than an expression of beliefs in the verities which underlie existence. An age timid of faith laughed at emotion, as sentimentalism, while it slaked a real but unadmitted thirst on the thrills of sensationalism in art or in life.

Yet beneath the surface the eternal emotions beat. While Bloomsbury prided itself on its intellectual superiority to Victorian sentiments, and Bermondsey asked no more than the banalities of the screen, the ancient rhythms of the heart were pulsing. Suddenly grim realities with stark insistence obtruded themselves into life and in the last two years they have swept away the little puppets with which we were content to toy. We have discovered in the face of danger and pain that there is a reality in heroism, in sorrow, in love, in self-sacrifice: that these primal elements in life are more than Victorian figments of old-fashioned convention and middle-class mediocrity. Where we least expected it we found the true mettle of manhood and womanhood. Good citizenship and heroism sprang up overnight. There are still selfishness and greed, but they slink into the shadow away from the idealism which has been made real. Youth which we may have feared to be going soft and selfish found an opportunity and seized it with reckless bravery.

At a vast cost of agony we have learned afresh to evaluate life. The question whether this will effect a real change in human outlook remains to answer. Shall we when the last

bomb has fallen and the last shot has been fired, turn again with relief to enjoyment of the fleshpots? Shall we relapse exhausted into a disillusioned cynicism? We shall inevitably unless a continuing purpose impels us to sustained effort, unless life has a meaning and a value which are great enough to keep the spirit aglow and the will taut; unless we have faith. We shall betray those who have striven and suffered unless we guide the youth who are their heirs towards a faith to illumine their path and to inspire their thought and deeds.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FUTURE

So far we have been concerned mainly with what the situation of youth has been, although we have kept an eye on the horizon and attempted to descry a goal to aim at. Now we must try to define our objectives in terms both of ideal and of practical developments. In doing so we may traverse again to some extent the ground already covered.

First we reiterate once more the need to raise the school-leaving age at least to fifteen and to introduce compulsory part-time education up to eighteen for all who are not following other full-time courses. We demand also a liberal extension of facilities for recreation, with due attention paid to improving conditions of employment, vocational training and physical fitness, including nutrition, rest, and medical and dental care. All these things will involve measures of reform, and the establishment of new institutions, as well as the fullest utilization of all the existing agencies which can help in the task.

It must not be thought that no one has been concerned with the serious risk inherent in our neglect of the adolescent. For generations devoted men and women have bestowed their lives to this task of improving things, but as a community we have been very blind. A few years ago the matter came to a head and the nation suddenly realized that its future was being imperilled by the disgraceful and insane waste of its young human material merely on the physical side. In 1937 the National Fitness Council (as it was subsequently named) was brought into being by an Act of Parliament for which the way was prepared by a public pronouncement by the Prime Minister

of the day. Actually there were two National Advisory Councils for Physical Training and Recreation (as they were called originally), one for England and Wales, and one for Scotland.

This name implied that physical fitness was the objective aimed at, and the Act made this clear. This was undoubtedly a hampering limitation. It threw out of focus a perception of the general needs of youth, and led the public to think that all that was wanted could be met by providing playing fields, gymnasia and so forth. It is true that the title was altered to Fitness Council, and a good deal was said about the all-embracing connotation of fitness, and that it involved every element of personality. But the idea remained that it was a physical fitness council and in fact it was so by statute and it behaved as such in making its grants.

It was unfortunate that its educational purpose was narrowed in this way. It also suffered constitutionally from its partial divorce from the educational system of the country. Undoubtedly it gained by the same fact. But it had to meet continuous prejudice and opposition from Education Committees and administrators who regarded it as an intruder. They could argue justly that the Fitness Council was concerned with an essentially educational function, and that with a slight extension of powers it could have been brought into the educational system. They could plead also that the establishment of a new piece of machinery was redundant and wasteful, and that the effect would be to divert from educational establishments the additional means which they wanted to meet the need of which they were well aware but which they lacked funds to supply. Against that the champions of the Fitness Council retorted that Education Committees had for years had powers under the Education Acts to make much of the provision which was needed, especially in respect of adolescents, but that through parsimony or lack of vision they had failed to do so; and that the only way to get something done was to bring new minds and new resources to the task.

As one looks back it would seem that the Fitness Council served a really useful purpose, and also that it is a good thing that it has gone.* It was probably necessary to have a zealous missionary body to blaze the trail, but having done so to make way for the educational forces to advance along the track it

* Technically it still exists as a statutory body, but it has no funds and it seems unlikely that it will ever be revived.

had cleared. Among many useful pieces of work to its credit one of the most valuable was to emphasize the importance, especially in the case of adolescents, of utilizing and strengthening voluntary organizations. Some Education Authorities had realized the value of this policy, others had followed it half-heartedly, while the remainder had shunned it jealously.

The war came and the whole edifice threatened collapse. But the worst has not befallen and the Fitness Council has been succeeded by the National Youth Committee* which is centred in the Board of Education, and a special Youth Branch of the Board has been set up. The work of the Committee has not been spectacular, and it does not inspire great enthusiasm or display much vivacity; but it is plodding along in circumstances of great difficulty. Hard as the times are it must be recognized that in a sense circumstances are propitious, as the stress of war makes it easier to plead the cause of youth. War emphasizes both the fine qualities of youth and the need to husband them as a national asset.

A radical difference between the new machine and the old is that although the Fitness Council was perhaps particularly sympathetic towards the claims of youth it was not prevented from furthering adult activities. This was an element of weakness. If it had commanded unlimited funds there might have been good reason to extend its help to any proper activity within its scope; but seeing that it had strictly limited resources it would have been more effective in its results, had it continued long enough in existence, if it had concentrated its effort on youth. On the whole it is in the pre-marital age that extraneous aid for recreative activities is more necessary. Youth should certainly have been interpreted generously enough for it to take young men and women in their early twenties under its wing. It is noteworthy that the National Youth Committee is concerned with the adolescents; but it puts the upper age limit of its responsibility at about twenty. This is a sound move.

An important part of the work of the Youth Committee during the past eighteen months has been the creation of machinery throughout the country. It has stimulated every authority for higher education to establish a local Youth Committee, and all now have responded. The policy was laid down in November, 1939, in Circular 1486 of the Board of Education which has been signalized justly as an epoch-making document.

* Now dissolved and replaced by the National Youth Advisory Council.

Its importance was marked by what is probably a unique honour for any departmental circular, in that it received the commendation of the King in a public pronouncement issued through the press.

This document set out with the force of brevity and simplicity the challenging need of concentrating national effort on remedying the neglect of the adolescent. It pointed out that war had aggravated the situation and stated authoritatively that "The Government are determined to prevent the recurrence during this war of the social problem which arose during the last", and that "They have accordingly decided that the Board of Education shall undertake a direct responsibility for youth welfare". It proceeded to announce the setting up of the National Youth Committee, the establishment of a special branch of the Board and the policy of stimulating every Education Authority for Higher Education to set up a local Youth Committee.

It laid on the local Youth Committees the duty of formulating "an ordered policy, which shall provide for meeting the most immediate needs and which shall indicate the lines on which a real advance can be made under more favourable conditions". It placed within their purview not merely the narrower question of providing better educational and recreative facilities, but a consideration of the social and economic background of young lives, and the character and conditions of juvenile workers.

There is one restriction of considerable importance. It has been laid down that it is not the function of a local Youth Committee to conduct youth activities, but to strengthen the hands of Local Authorities and voluntary organizations. But it is recognized that a committee must do more than co-ordinate: it must be a body which thinks, initiates and inspires.

It must not be thought that the idea of co-ordinating juvenile organizations was new. For a number of years there had existed in many parts of the country what, with slight variations of title, were generally known as Juvenile Organisations Committees. As long ago as 1916 the Home Office set up a Central Juvenile Organisations Committee for the purpose of co-ordinating and strengthening the work of various bodies which were concerned with providing recreational facilities for youth. The Home Office was concerned with the question in so far as it bore on delinquency. The task was decentralized by the establishment of a number of local committees with the same object. In 1918 the national body was taken over by the Board of Education

and its aims were widened beyond the problem of reducing delinquency. Before the war there were in England and Wales 110 local committees and in Scotland there were 11 with a Central Council.

The story of Juvenile Organisations Committees is not thrilling. They varied considerably in their activities and enthusiasm. Their function was to advise, co-ordinate and stimulate; but this is a somewhat barren task, and it turned out that the liveliest were those which stepped outside their allotted field and became active themselves. The result was that when the National Fitness Council came into being it pronounced with justice on the "comparative failure of the movement" and after abolishing the old Central Council it set up a new one. It was given a new constitution and a fresh charge, but it did not have time or opportunity to show its mettle. It is rather doubtful whether it would have been much more satisfactory than its predecessor. Now its mantle has fallen on the National Youth Committee, and the local Youth Committees have succeeded to the functions of the former local Juvenile Organisations Committees.

The underlying principle is to encourage the Local Education Authority to co-operate with and strengthen voluntary organizations, following the policy of the Fitness Council and of the most advanced Local Authorities. Through their representatives on Youth Committees the voluntary organizations according to their individual wisdom and forcefulness can do much to mould policy; but their weight varies in different committees. In any case they are likely to be a minority.

In order to mobilize the experience and knowledge of juvenile organizations as much as possible, certain localities have adopted the policy of setting up bodies consisting mainly of representatives of these organizations, with the addition of those who can represent relevant interests such as the churches, industry and the Ministry of Labour, as well as individuals with a special contribution to make. The function of such a body is to act as a sounding-board for those intimately interested in youth work, to appoint representatives to the local Youth Committee, to tender it advice and to handle problems which may be remitted to it by the Youth Committee. A number of such advisory committees have come into existence and it will be interesting to see whether they become really effective or relapse into being futile talking bodies. It will depend on the quality of their personnel and the vivacity of the officials who guide them.

Some are likely to lapse into uselessness: the best may do valuable work. But there is nothing more difficult than to keep an advisory committee alive. Action vitalizes; but these bodies exist to advise Youth Committees which are themselves advisory.

The existence of such a body has the further valuable effect of bringing together into common counsel the different juvenile organizations. This should help to remove the mutual suspicions and jealousies which have sometimes existed, and to bring about closer co-ordination of effort for their common purpose. Centrally good work has been done for several years by the Standing Conference of National Juvenile Organisations which is representative of the main national bodies.

Stress has also been laid on the advantage of bringing young people themselves into counsel. This is not as easily practicable as it sounds. If the right representatives to sit on committees can be found it is most desirable to have them, but in general one or two young people in a mainly adult committee will, according to temperament, be either abashed or bumptious. They cannot as a rule have the experience and the wisdom necessary for effective participation in such a committee. That youth should have an opportunity for expressing its wants and ideas is indisputably important, but this end is more likely to be attained by having a consultative body of young people, with a few sympathetic adults, which can make representations, forward suggestions and in turn be utilized to co-operate in giving effect to measures ultimately decided on.

So far Youth Committees have not done much, and there is a tendency to criticize them as a merely mechanical edifice. There is a danger that Local Education Committees may rest satisfied with the creation of a machine and forget that it is only a means to an end. It is also probably true that in some cases the appointing authority has failed to understand the real purpose of the Committee and has not constituted it with the best membership. There is always a danger that Local Authority committees will include those who are appointed for reasons other than suitability for the job. This is a common weakness throughout the system of local government; but it is not irremediable and may be avoided by a wise Authority if it is well guided by officials with vision or urged by enlightened public opinion. That is the real safeguard and it should be the stimulus, but unfortunately it is slow to operate.

The activities which a Youth Committee exists to encourage

involve expenditure, and ultimately this falls on the Education Authority backed by the Board of Education. If the Authority co-operates sympathetically with voluntary bodies it can utilize such resources of money and service as the voluntary movement possesses. Severely limited as these are, especially in time of war, they make up a considerable bulk as a national total. A comparatively small grant may often enable them to increase their usefulness abundantly. It is part of the duty of a Youth Committee to advise and persuade the Education Committee in matters of expenditure. An especially important part of this function is in respect of the allocation of grants to voluntary organizations. Although these are still far from extravagant, they have been started or extended so as in many cases to seem revolutionary; but they are quite inadequate to meet the need fully. The fact is that we are still toying with the problem and it is perhaps unfortunate that voluntary workers, lean after years of accustomed hunger, give humble thanks for any crumb that falls to them, whereas they ought rather to cry shame on those who refuse them a decent plateful.

Like the Fitness Council the new Youth Committees show a tendency to concentrate their efforts on physical activities. It is possible to attend conferences of youth leaders and find that they are nearly all teachers, or would-be teachers, of physical training and athletics. It is to the credit of such a body as the Central Council for Recreative Physical Training that it has acquired considerable standing in the work. It is doing most admirable service and deserves encouragement and help to extend its activities. It recognizes that youth needs more than physical training and it is at pains to emphasize the necessity of a full development of personality. But its primary function, as its name implies, is to encourage development on the physical side, and if other agencies do not supplement its activities the Central Council is not to blame.

The recent concentration of public attention on the needs of the adolescent has resulted in a vague sense that it is physical activities and recreation that are wanted, with a consequently narrowed perception of the question. The circumstances of war have naturally enhanced this tendency by turning the minds of the whole nation to the physical fitness of the young to serve in the armed forces and in civil defence. It is very necessary to get a balanced view and to see the problem as an educational matter. It involves the development of the whole personality; and it

includes the necessity of understanding the importance of recreation and of an interpretation of recreation on lines both generous and wide.

If the Service of Youth, as it has been somewhat ineptly named, is to fulfil its task the purpose must extend beyond the accident of war-time conditions to the normal conditions of peace. If we lay the foundations on too narrow lines the whole edifice will prove useless for the ultimate purposes it should serve.

So we are brought back to the question of the extension of schooling for adolescents, and a consideration of how the whole care of youth, ranging from book-learning to football, can be welded into a unified educational plan. It will probably be a patchwork, partly because we in this country dislike a neat and unified scheme, partly because it will be framed along different lines in different localities, and partly because it will absorb a number of valuable elements already existing. But if it is to be in any sense complete it must embody certain essential elements, of which the five main ones are part-time continued education by day, vocational education, facilities for recreation, industrial placing and aftercare, and supervision of health. Its aims must embrace the twin purposes of developing the individual and fashioning a citizen.

Owing to the difficulties which will exist or seem to exist after the war it is probable that makeshift will bulk only too large in the schemes set up. Financial stringency, the claims of other social needs competing for money and public attention, strain on the building resources of the country, dearth of teachers, and a general lack of appreciation of the need will encourage the less imaginative authorities to be slack or contented with second-rate provision. We are concerned however in seeing what ought to prevail; so let us conceive as far as we may the ideal at which to aim.

There must be an adequate location of all these activities. What it is called is not negligible, but there are considerations of more importance. Let us call it a Continuation School. Whatever limiting associations there are with the word school, it is a good old word with high and honourable traditions. Some have argued in favour of the word college; but it would be a specious use of the word and a falsification of its real connotation. The name centre lacks character. School let it be until a fitter name can be found.

The school building must be commodious and beautiful, not extravagantly planned but generous in space and air and light. It will need accommodation for the varied activities which the curriculum must embrace, from the more formal class-room to the craft-rooms and gymnasium. Gardens for horticulture and places for outdoor physical training and recreation should be preferably on the spot but at any rate available.

The pupils will be a changing body, not all in attendance at one time. This will make it all the harder to develop that corporate sense which is essential if an institution is to inculcate the social virtues which constitute citizenship. If the school is merely an institution which boys and girls pour into and out of on one or two days a week it will never become a society. It is only as a consciously co-operating and contributing member of a community that you can be socially educated. This necessity is a condition of the size of the school, which must be large enough, but not so great as to prevent cohesion. It is true that much depends on the unifying influence of the head and the staff, but there are limits. The limits are not rigid. They depend on various conditions, and the simplest test is whether the school succeeds in holding the loyalty of its members. The problem will take different shapes in town and country. The rural school must be in a convenient centre and it will be necessary to make arrangements for travel.

It is clear that attendance on one or two days in the week is not going to provide opportunity for the development of this necessary loyalty and sense of community. This is where the provision of recreational facilities is so important. The school must provide facilities which will attract the boys and girls in their leisure hours. They should be widely various, including formal classes for those who want to pursue further their academic studies, physical activities, opportunities for craft work of various kinds, as well as more obviously recreational pastimes.

The building should have rooms specially planned and equipped for all these purposes. It is not enough to turn a class-room for the evening into a place of recreation as is usually the best that an Evening Institute can manage. Rooms must be designed as club rooms if the club spirit is to flourish.

It is most necessary that every one of these schools should develop that spirit. The best type of club makes a valuable con-

tribution to social education by giving scope to its members to practise the art of self-government. In so far as it succeeds it is making a real and practical contribution to education in citizenship. Merely physical environment is important. Although loyalty is a spiritual accomplishment overriding material conditions, nevertheless there is a value in having a beautiful home or a beautiful city as the outward form of that inner quality. Such is the strength of the human spirit that home is sweet be it never so humble. But that would be a poor argument in favour of preserving slums. For centuries we have recognized the educational value of good physical surroundings and for proof we need only look at our universities, our old schools and our modern educational buildings. The new schools for the great mass of young citizens whom we are looking forward to subjecting for the first time to educational influences through the adolescent years must also be beautiful and worthy of their function. There is no reason why the environment of a working lad in his leisure hours should be inferior to that of a university undergraduate. There are reasons why it is, but that does not prove that it should be.

When one looks at the material superiority of many schools attended by the children of the poor over those to which well-to-do parents are prepared to send their sons and daughters at no little expense one begins to realize that the demand and the hope for adequate buildings for our new Continuation Schools are not impracticable. Nevertheless there is certain to be a tendency in the difficult circumstances ahead to put up with whatever accommodation can most cheaply and easily be got. The disgraceful conditions in which many Junior Instruction Centres were housed should be a reminder and a warning. It may be that in the early days the only alternative to no school will often be makeshift accommodation. It will be extremely important to insist that temporary devices are not allowed to lapse into permanent practice. A special responsibility will lie on the Board of Education to use all its influence for the maintenance of standards. If the accommodation falls below the improved standards which are now common in Elementary and Senior Schools the Continuation School will fail to command the respect of young people. And if it is to hold them voluntarily in their leisure hours it must be well equipped and comfortable, capable of competing successfully with the cinema, the billiard saloon and the cheap restaurant.

We have seen that the National Youth Committee has taken into its charge boys and girls to the age of twenty. It is not to be expected that the system of compulsory continued education will extend beyond the age of eighteen. The hold after that age will be by the attractiveness of what can be offered. A minority will want to continue some kind of formal education of a cultural or vocational character. A larger number may be kept in touch with the old school through recreational activities. We should consider seriously the development of senior clubs for the eighteen- and nineteen-year-olds. They may be housed in the same building or perhaps be given separate, or semi-separate, accommodation. If they can be organized as part of the main institution they will gain from the loyalties already attaching the pupils to it.

It is often suggested that when boys and girls have left school they will not go back to it, that they want to shake off its dust. There was considerable truth in this, but it is by no means inevitable. Schools and school ways have changed in recent years and the old-time dislike of school is almost a thing of the past. The notable success of many Old Scholars' Clubs has brought out this fact. One important factor will be the raising of the leaving-age. Boys and girls who leave at fourteen are much more likely to want to emphasize their maturity by casting off school connections than those who strike firmer roots through the period of adolescence. We can expect a deep and continuing loyalty in many or most of those who for three impressionable years share in the activities of the schools which we picture. There is likely to be a very strong compulsion of voluntary choice on the ex-scholar of the Continuation School to continue membership through a well-organized senior club which offers facilities for recreation, outdoor athletics and happy social contacts. They will need to provide opportunity for the sexes to mingle.

A large and important question is the future of technical education, and although it is beyond the scope of this short work to study it in detail it cannot be ignored. Undoubtedly there will need to be a thorough overhaul of its content and methods as well as a revaluation of its purpose. One thorny problem will be the relation of technical education to the compulsory courses of the Day Continuation School. While avoiding the risk of utilizing these courses as narrow vocational training, we must be realists. Although we have criticized educational

practice for its neglect of the social outlook, we must not forget that there is a natural and not an improper desire in many boys and girls to progress, and where this involves vocational instruction it should be available for ambitious youth. Purists are apt to emphasize a distinction between vocational and cultural education, which may be artificial. Learning to write English is vocational for a journalist as is the study of the Bible for a student of divinity, but cultural for ordinary folk. Two boys come after working hours and sit side by side in a mathematics class. One is a grocer's boy passionately keen on making model aeroplanes and is expanding his interests and his mind by studying the theory of flight: if the other is a young engineer is he narrowing his interests by concentrating all his superfluous intellectual energy within the limited compass of his vocation? We need to readjust our views and see that there is perhaps not as rigid a distinction as we have imagined between vocational and cultural subjects. It is not so much what you study as how it is taught and how you study it that makes a subject the vehicle of culture or not. In fact it can be both vocational and cultural to the same person at the same time. These principles should be borne in mind when the curriculum of the Day Continuation School is being fashioned.

In addition there must still be, and with extended facilities, an opportunity for those who want specialized training in their vocation. The most important reform in connection with technical and commercial education is to remove it as much as possible from evening to working hours. It is neither just to a boy nor efficient to allow him to spend long hours at work by day and to sacrifice the leisure he needs for recreation by attending classes on two or three evenings. No one wants to pamper, or to discourage some degree of evening work which a boy may well do; but if instruction is to be of the best value it must be largely by day. Far-seeing employers have already realized this and allow their keen young workers and apprentices to attend classes in the time for which they are paying wages.

There will be need for careful correlation of Day Continuation Schools with the system of Technical, Commercial and Art Schools. It is important that they should be complementary rather than competitive and there will probably be a variety of ways in which this is worked out. There are certain obvious dangers. The present schools will tend to look jealously on the Continuation School, nervous lest it rob them of students.

Some Authorities may be tempted to make the Continuation School do the work of the Technical Colleges: others conversely may try to adapt the existing technical and commercial system as a substitute for continued education. Again there may be others who, rightly anxious to keep the Day Continuation School on liberal lines, will lay too rigid a ban on the possibility of giving boys and girls any opportunity of pursuing vocational studies by day.

It will be a revolutionary change for the schools to be partly responsible for a million or so boys and girls whose main occupation is in industry or commerce. It is clear that if it is to make the most of its opportunity the school must accord its work with the realities of the pupils' lives, and relate its curricula and methods to life. We do not want narrow vocationalism, but also we must avoid a rarefied academic practice which forgets that boys and girls by becoming efficient workers are learning to play their part as citizens. Only on a foundation of reality is it possible to fashion surely a system of training which will equip the young to take part as free, disciplined, cultured men and women in a democratic community, fit as workers, as parents, and as fellow-citizens.

There we must leave the matter bristling with problems, but full of possibilities. One thing more. There are those who, when Mr. Fisher introduced the idea of compulsory continuation schooling in his 1918 Bill, feared that it would be the ruin of voluntary part-time education. The example of the Rugby Continuation School has confirmed what many predicted, that the more the desire for education is satisfied the more it grows. Whereas before the war the average attendance of adolescents between fourteen and eighteen at evening courses was 20 per cent. for the country as a whole, in Rugby where attendance at a Day Continuation School was compulsory up to sixteen the comparable figure was 60 per cent. We may expect that the extended influence of educational agencies will result in a greater demand for education among adolescents and young adults. With the raising of the school-leaving age there will inevitably be an immediate fall of numbers in attendance at evening courses by the fourteen-year-olds, but eventually the total demand is likely to increase.

If the scheme which we have sketched materializes, the Day Continuation School will be a focus of youthful activity on a large scale. It is important that those who are attending Technical

and Commercial Schools and Colleges do not miss the social and recreational opportunities which the Continuation School should offer. Students in the past have been too apt to look on the Technical College as an emporium where they can obtain instruction rather than as a society of which they are members. It may be that this should be the line on which Technical and Commercial Colleges develop: that they should be specialist teaching institutions attended by members of Day Continuation Schools. The student might take little tuition in the Continuation School, but he would enter into real membership through participating in the social and recreative activities which we posit as a most important part of the real being of the school.

The same principle should govern the evolution of the whole system of evening education in institutes and schools. It is not to be expected that there will be a sudden and complete change, but eventually there should be an integration of compulsory day-time education and voluntary part-time education. The physical accommodation of all the activities involved will vary, but the guiding principle should be as far as possible to attach each boy and girl as firmly as possible to some one institution which can give the fullest opportunity for membership of a corporate society and create a real sense of loyalty. Specialist institutions will be necessary, but their function should be ancillary.

If the Continuation School is to carry out all the functions which we have assigned to it there will be need of a large and carefully planned building. In addition to class-rooms there must be rooms for the various arts and crafts, gymnasias, a library, an assembly hall for large-scale activities such as lectures, music, singing, dancing and equipped for dramatic production, and club-rooms. It is to be hoped and expected that Continuation Schools will cater for boys and girls together. In many of their activities they can be mixed, but they must have separate accommodation for others. The ideal arrangement is for separate wings with a common element which would include the hall, some at least of the craft rooms, games and common rooms, the library and the canteen. If the school is to be at the same time a place of instruction and a youth centre for recreation none of these is superfluous or extravagant, and it is vitally important that the recreational activities shall be accommodated properly. The club spirit needs something other than a transmuted class-room as its habitation.

Nor must the other important functions of the school be overlooked by the architect. The welfare of boys and girls in relation to their industrial occupation involves placing in employment, with the machinery of guidance before and after placing which to-day falls to the juvenile branch of an Employment Exchange or the Employment Bureau of an Education Committee. This should find its place in the school. The same organization should be responsible for questions of insurance and unemployment benefit; and there will also be need for accommodating the health services which will include medical and dental clinics, with some degree of remedial treatment.

Lastly there is the extremely important question of using the contributions which voluntary organizations can make. One can foresee the active participation in the recreational life of the members by Scouts, Guides, Brigades and Cadet Corps. According to the size of the school, which will naturally not be large in smaller towns, all or some of these organizations will play their part. We must use all these agencies to the utmost extent possible to give richness and variety. In order to carry on their activities they must find a physical home in the school and be given adequate accommodation.

That brings us to the question which has been concerning some good folk already. We hear alarmist suggestions that the organization of youth activities implies dictatorial methods and springs from a spirit akin to Fascism. We are so rightly jealous of the individualism which inspires all our national institutions that we are apt to confuse liberty with disorder. Freedom is not incompatible with orderliness, and regimentation is not system, but an over-systematization which quells personality. The two main agencies for preventing that from overtaking education in this country are preservation of the practice which leaves a considerable degree of control and opportunity for initiative in local hands, and generous encouragement of the various voluntary organizations which have already proved their ability to contribute to the welfare of youth.

One valuable means of education which has been tried for long but applied only within very narrow limits is to bring the young together for periods of common residence. Apart from the boarding-schools of the better-to-do classes there has been little opportunity of this for adolescents. As we have seen there have been a few hostels for boys and for girls, and young people have been put into boarding-schools for reformatory purposes.

A number have also had experience of short terms of camping life, but not for long enough to make a real contribution to social education. And except for the King's Camp there has been virtually no attempt to break down class barriers by mixing young people from different walks of life. Perhaps the nearest to this has been the Youth Hostels Association, but it has been limited in its effect and it has not enrolled many at the adolescent stage.

Already the idea of residential schools in the country has been developed for giving urban children the benefits of rural surroundings and the better care which they can receive away from home. There should be an extension of the principle to adolescents. There are many forms which it might take, from a fully equipped boarding-school to a camp in the hills. To be of value residence should be for a sufficiently long period. Six months would be about the right length. The essence of the plan should be educational and in a liberal sense of the term disciplinary. It should be compulsory on all adolescents irrespective of class, and not even those who continued their education at a boarding-school to late adolescence should be deprived of the valuable experience which it would give to every boy and girl. The curriculum should also be liberal, and for reasons of feasibility it would probably not include much higher academic content. There could be some opportunity for the few who would want to keep up their studies preparatory say to entering a university. There should be a large element of manual and outdoor work, and bookish boys and girls would gain more than they lost even if they seemed to grow a little rusty in their specialities. The gain in health and physical discipline would be of value to all. Intellectual development would not be neglected, but the methods would have to be varied and informal with a view less to carrying on lessons in traditional style than to encouraging thought, discussion and expression of ideas.

One question which looms large as a query mark to all future developments of the education of youth is whether or not we maintain compulsory military training in our national system. We have for centuries fought shy of it, but now it has been enacted for the first time when we were technically not at war. We have feared it as a symbol of chauvinism and as an expression of the spirit of militarism which we detest. Compulsory military service is not in itself a bad thing, although its form may be vile. It is the underlying purpose which matters. No one with

any discrimination could suggest that it has meant the same thing in Switzerland and Germany.

A very real danger is that compulsory military service may embody bad educational methods. If it is maintained in this country, as seems probable at least for a number of years, it is immensely important that it should be inspired by sound educational principles and that our educational practice should not be subordinated to the narrow tradition of soldiering. Already that tradition has undergone a considerable degree of liberalization, but on the whole soldiers are not liberal educators. Their job is specific: they are concerned with training soldiers, and although methods are very different from what they were it is not the same thing as training a citizen. Military training may inculcate many virtues valuable for citizenship, but it deals with a more limited problem.

If we do maintain compulsory military service it will be more and not less important that for part of the training period there shall be the influence of a wider purpose such as we envisage in the residential school or camp with its physical and manual activities in an atmosphere of liberal education. There is no reason why during that phase the boy, and the girl, should not learn some of the things which go to make an efficient guardian of their fatherland and make easier the task of training them in the technicalities of military service.

It is probable that normally military training would be in the nineteenth year. We envisage a term of pre-service training which would be fundamentally educational and calculated to develop physical fitness and a disciplined habit. This should make it possible to limit actual service training to more technical military work and to shorten its period.

With the abominable spectacle of militarism before our eyes we are rightly fearful of permitting anything which would encourage such a foul growth in our own society, but we must not allow our vision to be distorted by fear. It is to be hoped that in the ages to come when man has learned wisdom—as he will eventually—war will be regarded as a quaintly horrible relic. That time is not yet, although it may be nearer than some imagine. In the meantime we are unlikely to run the risk, which we took twenty-five years ago immediately when victory sounded, of beating our swords into ploughshares. Of vital necessity when war is over will be to assert with strength the primary need for keeping under control the training of the citizen and

including in that scheme the incidental process of fitting him to bear arms if the community needs protection. That our conception of the community should be something beyond a narrow nationalist interpretation is a matter of concern to the whole world. It is to be hoped that the citizenship for which youth will be trained will have a connotation expanded by a larger perception of international fellowship and responsibility. They will be better Britons for being young citizens of the world.

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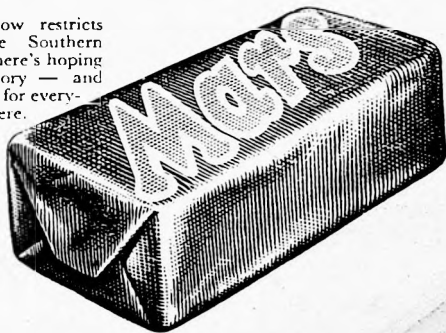
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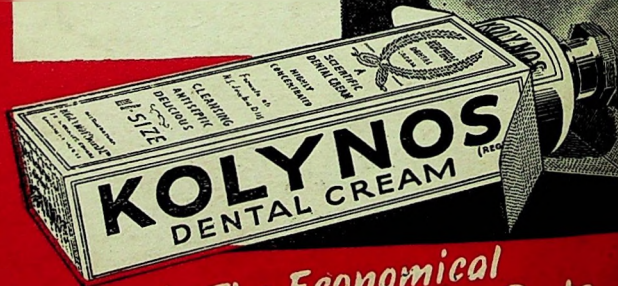


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